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ABSTRACT

The book provides administrators and students of administration with a background of extension programs of the past, the principles of large scale organization, and staff role in attaining extension goals. In Part 1, Changing Goals of the Cooperative Extension Service, C. M. Ferguson, Professor, University of Wisconsin, speaks on "Changing Times--Changing Programs" while F. H. Harrington, President, University of Wisconsin, reflects the "Role of Cooperative Extension in the Land-Grant System." A third speaker, E. T. York, Jr., Administrator, Federal Extension Service, discusses "Cooperative Extension's Contributions to National Goals." Part 2, Formulating Goals and Individual Achievement, examines the role of the individual in the organization. Contributors to Part 2 are G. B. Strother, Professor, University of Wisconsin, speaking on "The Individual and Goal Achievement" and E. W. Burr, Personnel Manager, Monsanto Chemical Company, discussing "The Individual and the Organization." Part 3, Organization for Goal Attainment, consists of a paper by Edward Gross, Professor, University of Minnesota, on "Organization As a Means for Achieving Extension's Goal" and a paper by Christopher Sower, Professor, Michigan State University, on "The Land-Grant University 'Development Organization' in Transition: The Case of the Cooperative Extension Service." (EA)

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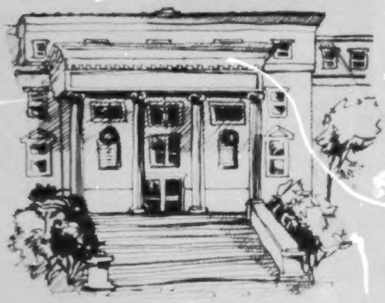
DIRECTING
the Cooperative Extension Service

Editors: ROBERT C. CLARK
N. P. RALSTON



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Directing the Cooperative Extension Service

Selected Papers Presented at
Seventh National Cooperative Extension Administrative Seminar
Madison, Wisconsin, April 30–May 4, 1962

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION CENTER
FOR ADVANCED STUDY
University of Wisconsin

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FOREWORD

THE Cooperative Extension Service, the world's largest adult informal, educational and developmental organization, approaches almost a half century of recognized achievement. It is dedicated to "the development of people themselves, to the end that they, through their own initiative, may effectively identify and solve the various problems directly affecting their welfare."[1]

This tripartite educational organization uniquely involves Federal (United States Department of Agriculture), State (Land-Grant Colleges and Universities) and local units of government. It has established an effective organization with purposeful programs which have been socially significant to the people of America and to many countries of the world.

The Cooperative Extension Service is responding to the mandate so clearly stated in the Smith-Lever Act of May 8, 1914 . . .

> "to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States, useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics and to encourage the application of the same . . ."

Leaders of this organization are recognizing and utilizing the bodies of knowledge found in the social sciences that relate to the changing goals of the Cooperative Extension Service, the essentiality of formulating goals for individual achievement and the development of the organization for goal attainment. Outstanding scholars have been and continue to be invited to share their knowledge with the organization's administrators to stimulate them to prepare for the future and to guide the organization for greater accomplishment as it continues to serve the needs of people.

This book, entitled *"Directing the Cooperative Extension Service"* offers administrators and students of administration an opportunity to analyze the information considered at the Seventh National Cooperative Extension Administrative Seminar, at the University of Wisconsin, April 30 to May 4, 1962. The general theme was "Organizational Climate of Cooperative Extension." Objectives of the seminar were to develop:

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[1] Joint Committee Report on Extension Programs, Policies and Goals, 1948. U.S. Department of Agriculture and Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities.

1. Greater understanding and appreciation of Extension programs of the past as they relate to the goals of the next decade.
2. Greater understanding of the principles of large scale organization, the establishment of goals and their achievement.
3. Greater understanding, involvement, and coordination of the staff in defining and attaining the achievable goals of the Cooperative Extension Service.

The Administrative Seminar was sponsored jointly by the State Cooperative Extension Services, the Federal Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study through the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy. A Planning Committee was named to plan, staff, and conduct the program.

N. P. Ralston, Extension Director, Michigan, Chairman
Torlief Aasheim, Extension Director, Montana
Robert C. Clark, Director, National Extension Center
Lloyd H. Davis, Acting Deputy Administrator, Federal Extension Service
John E. Hutchison, Extension Director, Texas
G. H. Huffman, Former Deputy Administrator, Federal Extension Service.

In addition to the major Seminar staff, several other persons provided effective leadership as discussants, panel members, Evaluation Committee members, and chairmen, as noted in the program appearing on pages 160–163.

E. Arthur Prieve, Project Assistant in the National Extension Center, served as Seminar Coordinator
T. H. Patton, Associate Extension Director, Pennsylvania, and his committee evaluated the program
George E. Lord, Exension Director, Maine, served as master of ceremonies at the banquet.
Mrs. Harriet Cluttterbuck and Miss Janice Holverstot provided able and conscientious assistance in preparing the manuscript.

Valuable leadership in conducting many aspects of the Seminar program was provided by Rudolph K. Froker, Dean and Director of the College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, and Henry L. Ahlgren, Associate Director of the Wisconsin Cooperative Extension Service.

The 42 Extension executives and members of the Seminar staff who were privileged to develop and discuss the papers published in this book found much of interest and value in them. The Center staff and the Planning Committee invite you to also examine this information related to directing the work of the Cooperative Extension Service.

September, 1962.

Robert C. Clark
Director, National Agricultural
Extension Center for Advanced Study

N. P. Ralston
Director, Michigan Cooperative
Extension Service
Chairman of Planning Committee

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Part I

Changing Goals of the Cooperative Extension Service

Changing Times
Changing Programs

CLARENCE M. FERGUSON
Professor, National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study, University of Wisconsin, Madison

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"I know of no way of judging the future but by the past"
—PATRICK HENRY

IT IS safe to say that the changes of the last few years can be said to have produced both cause and effect of great proportions. The external forces of the "explosion in technology", the drastic changes in the economics of agricultural production and distribution when combined with social change have produced the world's most dynamic era of adjustment in farm production and marketing with concurrent adjustment in farming, rural living, community development and in the melding of our rural and urban cultures. Extension has played many lead roles in this drama.

The internal forces which we shall try to identify have in part been the result of the impact of external pressures. These forces have been at play in both the Land-Grant Institution and in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They have influenced, and have been influenced by, legislative changes at both federal and state levels. They have produced adjustments in both organizational structure and in operations. Budgets have increased and staffs have grown in size and competence. Professional improvement and inservice training have taken on added importance.

Overall objectives and goals have changed but little; yet greater emphasis on program development has created a sharp increase in efforts to strengthen the whole process of program planning and development. Marketing and utilization have found a more prominent place in the *curriculum*.

Public affairs education, long the most controversial of Extension efforts, has now become a well recognized and appropriate field of endeavor. Rural Areas Development, agricultural adjustment, and program projection have each played a part in adjusting Extension's course. Home economics and 4-H Club programs reflect the many changes in technology, economics, and family living.

Business and industry have strengthened their support of 4-H and a growing corps of volunteer leaders devote many times the number of man-hours to Extension programs that are spent by the professional staff.

While at times Extension may have appeared to hesitate on the brink of an ever-changing scene, it can be said in all candor that few organizations have directed more energy toward the exploration of their own goals and in the evaluation of their own efforts.

From the turmoil of a half century of change Extension has emerged with an enviable record, and high on its masthead is the emblem of "Earned Leadership."

In summary, may I suggest a few areas of administrative concern which the changes of recent years bring into focus.

1. A need for a clarification of Extension's objectives in light of changes past, present, and pending.
2. A need for continual adjustment in organization and staffing to implement program adjustments.
3. A careful examination of our structure to provide stronger program administration and supervision.
4. Continued and intensified attention to the purposes, objectives, and methods of program development by local groups in consonance with technological and social change.
5. A need on the part of Extension administration to fully accept its role of "earned leadership" and exercise it in a way to avoid unnecessary conflicts of attitude and opinion within the organization and between Extension and the several publics which Extension is chartered to serve.

New Feature of Change is Greater Rapidity

The most persistent characteristic of American Life, American Agriculture and Industry has been change. Change is not new. The only new feature is its greater rapidity.

Those of us who have been privileged to spend our lives in this economy have seen more technological and economic change than we would have experienced had we lived all of the years from the birth of Christ to the time we were born.

The Land-Grant College system with its research, teaching and Extension areas has been a great influence in bringing this change to pass. We have come from a predominantly agrarian, rural culture to one in which the number of workers required to produce our food and fibre has consistently decreased. Yet, as a nation, we were never better fed, better housed, or better clothed. In fact, there is much food for thought in the fact that in this part of the world the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread" has been answered. It is no wonder that the less fortunate peoples in many parts of the world look to our success and ask "What must we do to share in your good fortune?"

There are those who say we have had too much research and too much Extension education and that their influence has brought us to a point in our economy where we are producing in excess of our ability to consume. It would be a sad commentary on our system of values if we were to replace our efforts to seek and use new information with a self-imposed aura of ignorance. There are also those who say "Extension's job is done—no longer do we need to grow two blades of grass where one grew before." Such comments grow out of a lack of sound understanding of Extension's philosophy, goals, and objectives. Such comments add emphasis to the need for stock-taking, serious introspection and better communication between Extension and its many publics.

Many Ways to Categorize Changes

There are many ways in which the changes of the last half century might be categorized. The farmer and his family in a half century have moved from an almost primitive agriculture to a highly developed, highly specialized business with its attending changes in capitalization, mechanization, organization and dependence on other segments of the economy. The need for greater skills in the application of an ever-growing body of technology is exceeded only by the need for greater ability in management.

A significant change is occurring in the public concept of agriculture. The terms "farming" and "agriculture" were once synonomous. But today the farm enterprise lies at the heart of a great industry in which seven millions are employed in production. These, in turn, are supported by six million who work in the steel, rubber, chemical, and other segments of our economy producing the goods and services essential to farm production. Where the farmer once marketed and distributed much of his own produce, he now depends on over eleven million workers to transport, buy, sell, process, store, distribute, and merchandise the products of his fields, barns, and feed lots. The independence of farming has gone and interdependence with the non-farming part of our economic mechanism has come to stay.

Rural family living has experienced an equally drastic change. The farm home a few years ago was without electricity and running water. Now it has all of the advantages of the urban home and remains relatively free from the many harassments of urban living. The city limits sign no longer separates two cultures. On the farm the home continues to be the center of farm operations, and farming continues to be a family enterprise where every meal is likely to be a meeting of the board of directors of the farm enterprise.

The attitude of farmers toward science has gone through two eras and has emerged into a third. The first of these might be described as the era of skepticism. Farmers were inclined to be guided by tradition, experience and folklore and to view with skepticism new ideas emanating from research. Early demonstrations gradually changed these attitudes and an era of confidence followed. It can be safely said that this era has emerged into one of dependence on science. This change in attitude has created a vastly different situation for Extension than existed a few decades ago.

To more fully appreciate the impact of change, it is necessary to realize that both cause and effect must be considered. Research and education were the major factors in producing change, and each change in economics or technology had an influence on the succeeding adjustments in programs of research and extension teaching.

Extension Changes Are Both External and Internal

For purposes of discussion, changes affecting Extension can be categorized into:

(a) **External Forces**—Those occurring outside the actual organization and functioning of the Extension system.

(b) **Internal Forces**—Those occurring within the Extension system itself.

Time limits consideration to but a few of these forces. No attempt will be made to be exhaustive or inclusive. Those identified in the following paragraphs must be considered only as examples.

I. Changing External Forces

The following classification suffers from over-simplification. It must also be realized that often the inter-reaction of contemporary changes may produce a greater impact than that of any single change considered by itself.

(a) **The explosion of technology** during the past two decades is unprecedented in world agriculture. Today in America we are producing 10% more milk, 46% more eggs, 94% more beef, and 178% more chicken than we were 20 years ago. This has been accomplished on 59 million fewer acres. Between the census periods of 1950 to 1960, the number of farm workers has decreased by 28%. Productivity per man hour in the last 20 years has gone up from an index of 67 to 208, crop production per acre from 88 to 129, and livestock production per breeding unit from 92 to 130. (1947–49 = 100)

H. L. Stewart of U.S.D.A.'s Economic Research Service at the 1961 Outlook Conference said:

> Total man hours of farm labor used in agriculture declined by one-third in the last decade while mechanical power and machinery inputs were increased by 1/5th, fertilizer and lime by 3/5ths, purchased feed, seed and livestock by 1/2 and miscellaneous inputs more than 1/4th.

These brief comments will serve to bring to mind the many technological innovations of recent years. They cover the entire spectrum of agricultural operations from the use of liquid and gaseous fertilizer to new weedicides, and from biologics in animal feeding to hybrid sorghum, or from cotton pickers to mechanical feeders. On the off-farm side of agriculture, we could enumerate an almost endless list ranging from mechanical egg handling to T.V. meals and far beyond. Such a list is but an introduction to the new technology of the last few years. Each new innovation has had its effect on farm labor, on management, capitalization and credit needs and an impact on the many questions which Extension teaching is designed to answer.

(b) **Changes in the economics of agriculture** are as drastic as those of technology, although they may be somewhat less apparent to the casual observer. The decrease from 5.4 million census farmers in 1950 to 3.7 million a decade later is due only in a minor degree (about 20%) to the change in definition. An equally if not more important change is the increase in average farm size from 215 acres in 1950 to 302 acres ten years later.

Evidence mounts that farming, while in the hands of fewer farmers, is in stronger hands. An increase of 64% in the number of farms with gross incomes of $10,000 or more per year was accompanied by a corresponding decrease of 30% in low income farms after allowing for the change in census definition.

> Almost overnight agriculture has become one of the higher capital using industries. The production assets per farm have more than doubled in the last decade. The average investment of around $22,000 per farm worker is substantially higher than the average investment per employee in manufacturing enterprises which was about $15,000 in 1959.[1]

Specialization in farming has advanced rapidly during the 50's. For example, 51% fewer farms reported milk cows, but the individual dairy enterprise grew by 59%. While this adjustment was taking place in dairying, 56% fewer farmers reported selling eggs, but the number of eggs sold per farm having layers went up 213%. Similar changes took place in turkeys, potatoes and cotton.

In the South Platte Valley in Colorado the number of feeders with over 1,000 head on feed more than doubled, but in spite of this fact, 86% of all the feeders were still feeding less than 325 head and 58% were feeding less than 125 head.[2]

In the light of these and other data, there seems to be little ground for the oft-expressed fear that the family operated farm is disappearing. However, it is abundantly evident that its size, capitalization and degree of specialization is increasing with a corresponding need for greater managerial competence to insure success.

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[1] Stewart, H. L. 1961 Agriculture Outlook Conference, U.S.D.A.

[2] Unpublished data by E. C. Hunter, E.R.S.–U.S.D.A. as reported by H. L. Stewart at the 1961 Outlook Conference.

The emerging form of the family farm with its greater efficiency plays a significant part in increasing the food purchasing ability of the factory pay check. For example, an hour of factory work buys 10.1 loaves of bread, 3.6 dozen eggs, or 2.5 pounds of choice beef, as compared to 9.6 loaves of bread, 1.8 dozen eggs, or 1.9 pounds of choice beef a decade ago.

These few examples will serve to illustrate the economic changes of recent years. It becomes clear that the onrush of technology, specialization, and larger farm units is producing many crises for more and more families who find themselves unable to stem the tide and are stranded on the sand bars produced by this flood of progress.

(c) **Social change** to a degree is the product of economic and technological developments. The impact on population movement is marked by the continuing reduction in farm population, a static or slight falling-off in the number of "in-city" dwellers and the tremendous growth of the green belt or suburban community with its inroad on the rural landscape.

Programs Tailored to Changing Clientele

In many communities which 10 years ago were made up entirely of farms, the city workers are now neighboring with farm families. With this has come the trend toward more off-farm employment and many members of farm families have become commuters and the carpool, once a socio-economic device of city living, has invaded many rural areas. In 1959, three out of every ten farm operators worked 100 days or more in off-farm employment. The increase was more pronounced during the last half of the 50's than during any five year period since 1934. In 1959, over one third of all farm operators reported that the off-farm income exceeded the value of the farm products sold.[3]

These factors have greatly speeded up the blending of the farm, the rural non-farm, and the suburban community. Coming with it have been many new problems. Meeting the demand for schools, water systems, sanitation and zoning, for example, all present new problems, and Extension workers are drawn into the midst of discussions on a whole new set of local public affairs.

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[3] U.S. Census, 1960.

Extension programs in home economics, 4-H and some phases of engineering, gardening, etc. once designed for farm families must be tailored to a changing clientele.

In many communities, taxation on land which a few years ago was assessed as farm land, while it may still be in farms, is being re-evaluated for tax purposes on the basis of its real estate value as it becomes a part of the industrial or residential community.

Karl Shoemaker, Chief—General Economics and Rural Sociology Branch of the Federal Extension Service staff says that the farm bred youngster who, a few years ago, had his mind set on farming, is faced today with the fact that only eight to nine percent can hope to find their life work in operating a farm which will provide a gross return of $10,000 or more. The U.S. Department of Labor in projecting the manpower needs in the 60's, states that 17% fewer farmers and farm workers will be needed in our economy while we will need over 40% more professional and technical people by 1970. We will need more proprietors, managers, clerical and service, and semi-skilled people, but not any more unskilled workers.

The constantly increasing level of formal education in our population is producing significant changes in subject matter and in the methods employed in Extension teaching.

The median years of school completed by persons 25 years old or over for the United States have increased between the census of 1950 and that of 1960 in the Northeast by 1.6 years, in the North Central by 1.9 years, in the South by 1.7 years, and in the West by 0.9 years. This rate of increase is more rapid than in the preceding ten year period.

If the rate continues, it is safe to predict that the national average will reach 12 years, the equivalent of high school graduation by the mid-sixties.

This means that Extension now has and will doubtless continue to have an audience which is better able to grasp and make use of subject matter of considerably more depth and breadth.

Social change also involves a consideration of the impact of the influence of TV and radio as well as the printed word. The *Wall Street Journal* and *Business Week,* while still being read by relatively few farm people, are doubtless found in many homes of Extension's newer clientele.

Paramount on the social scene is the growing amount of underemployment in rural areas where small, inefficient farms are being consolidated into larger units, or are no longer in operation. This may not be attracting as much attention as the unemployment created in certain urban areas by changes in industrial technology, such as is evident in coal mining. The migration of surplus labor from American farms is a phenomenon of long standing and consequently does not attract the attention being focused on the need for re-training industrial workers to take their places in new or different industries.

According to Ray C. Scott, Director—Division of Agr. Economics and Marketing Programs of the Federal Extension Service,

> only 8% of our labor force is now employed in agriculture compared with 17% in 1940 and more than a third in 1900. In spite of this adjustment U.S.D.A. estimates indicate that there is enough underemployment among farm workers in the 20 to 64 year age bracket to equal one full year of employment for 1,400,000 people. The problem of underemployment in agriculture is highlighted by indications of the limited contribution to the economy which many farm families are making. For example, approximately one-half of the farm families of the nation account for less than 10% of the sales of agricultural commodities.

(d) **The influence of organized agriculture.** Farm organizations have historically been the spokesmen for Extension in legislative halls. They have had an intense interest in the scope and content of Extension work. In spite of some differences of opinion among the general farm organizations, they have found common cause in supporting and counseling Extension. This is not to say that they have always been in complete accord on how Extension administration allocated its resources. They see Extension as a farm program and are reluctant to see its service to farm people diluted by work with the non-farm populace.

Trend Toward More Favorable Attitude

Some changes, however, appear to be occurring. Resolutions indicate a trend toward a more favorable attitude to urban work in such fields as 4-H and nutrition, and particularly toward programs designed to create a more accurate image of agriculture in the minds of urban dwellers who are agriculture's most important customers. Rural (Areas) development has been viewed with favor as long as it did not detract from educational service to the commercial farmer. Attitudes on public affairs and public policy programs have undulated over the years with a slowly growing confidence in Extension's ability to be objective in its discussion of highly controversial issues.

Farm organizations, generally, have been favorable to Extension programs in marketing, especially when such efforts were directed to educational work with farmer-owned marketing organizations. The situation is a little less clear in regard to educational work with that segment of the industry which is owned and operated by the non-farm interests. Consumer education, however, attracts favorable comment, particularly when it is pitched toward the orderly marketing of perishables and to consumer consciousness of good nutrition.

With these trends in mind, it should be said, however, that the basic concept that Extension should serve first and well the commercial farm family continues to be the dominant attitude of organized agriculture.

II. Internal Forces

(a) **Forces within the Land-Grant Institutions.** The pressure of growing student bodies, coupled with a broadening of the offerings of our Land-Grant Colleges, has occupied a growing percentage of the time and interest of the top executives of our institutions. The line of communication and the degree of intimacy with and interest in Cooperative Extension has appeared to wane. An exception has been a growing concern among Land-Grant University Presidents as to future relationships among off-campus activities and programs of adult education.

A declining rural population and the lag in enrollment in agriculture and home economics with the concurrent increases in other areas have tended to move the spotlight of administrative concern to areas where the increased demand for facilities and faculty has taxed resources to the limit.

Dr. D. W. Colvard of Mississippi State University[4] commented on this point as follows:

> As the Land-Grant Colleges have expanded, the president's diversity of duties has curtailed his personal involvement in any one program. In some states extension directors began to operate more as a separate agency than as an integral part of the University program. Meanwhile with the great growth of universities and the dramatic changes

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[4] Address at February 22, 1962 forum conducted as a part of the graduate program of the National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study.

> taking place on both the state and campus levels as the result of urbanization and industrialization, the men chosen as Land-Grant College presidents had often very little if any formal experience in agricultural administration. All of these . . . tended to produce an impersonal relationship between the president's office and the extension director. . . . It is entirely possible that some presidents because of their classical background or urban environment have not had the time or the incentive to observe the extension movement from the grass roots up.

As a consequence, Cooperative Extension, which once occupied a cherished central spot on the administrative scene during its first two decades, is now somewhat sensitive to what seems to many to be a loss of prestige with top administration.

A trend which has most of its genesis within the institution but which has been also emphasized by the demands of the off-campus audience, has been a closer working relationship between research and Extension. To a lesser degree, but still of some importance is closer liaison between resident teaching and Extension in many Land-Grant Institutions.

(b) **Forces within the U.S. Department of Agriculture.** The traditional partnership between the Land-Grant Colleges and the U.S. Department of Agriculture is one of the most interesting ones in inter-governmental relations. Each traces its history to the same year just a century ago. Their mutual concern for the advancement of agriculture resulted in many cooperative efforts in research and Extension education. As the Department grew and agriculture looked more and more to Federal legislation and regulation to solve its ills, the Extension Services which once enjoyed a position of almost undivided attention from the agricultural public found itself with many new bedfellows.

The legislation creating new agencies was not always written in language that established well identified boundaries of work. This resulted in much inter-agency stress and strain, particularly during the decade of the 30's. Time and patience coupled with astute statesmanship has healed most of the festered areas.

Working relationships between Extension and Federal action agencies, such as the Soil Conservation Service, the Commodity Stabilization Service, the Forest Service, Farmers Home Administration, Farm Credit, Crop Insurance, and the regulatory programs of the Agricultural Marketing Service and the Agricultural Research Service have greatly improved. While attempts to document a distinction between education and service have fallen short of success, the degree of inter-agency conflict has been sharply reduced. As an agency matures, it is inclined to find that its goals and objectives can be more easily attained with the sympathetic, if not always active, support of its contemporaries.

Ripples on the calm waters of inter-agency cooperation do occur from time to time as changes in personnel occur or as new programs are undertaken.

Basic Concept of Extension is Education

Extension administration is to be commended on its steadfast adherence to the philosophy that its program is one of education, and while its efforts in time of emergency were often temporarily diverted into the administration of action programs, it has always returned to this basic concept. This is in sharp contrast to Extension work in some countries where its effectiveness is dulled by frequent demands to enforce regulations.

(c) **Changes in legal status—Federal legislation.** In the 48 years from the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, 16 additional pieces of federal legislation were passed which had a direct bearing on Extension administration. Aside from the Acts extending the privileges of the Smith-Lever Act to Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, the others all had to do with the authorization and subsequent appropriation of funds.

At no time has the basic concept of the original legislation been changed. Had an "open end" clause (permitting Congress to appropriate from time to time such funds as they deemed necessary) been included in the original bill, the history of legislative action, except for appropriations, would have doubtless been almost negligible. As it was, a new authorization had to be sought each time the appropriation reached the level of prior authorization.

The appropriation of funds has historically followed the pattern of allocation based on farm and rural population. The Amendment of 1953 to the Smith-Lever Act and the proposed amendment now before Congress are directed primarily to changes in the pattern of the allocation of federal funds to the states.

State legislation has undergone considerable change, particularly in those states where the original laws contained limitations on the appropriating authority of county governments and where specific organizational structure was required in order to permit the counties to create and maintain county Extension Services. The general trend in state legislation has been to liberalize these requirements and to aid in the separation of Extension from specific farm organizations. The trend has been toward the creation of county advisory bodies by more formal methods.

(d) **The Memoranda of Agreement.** The original Memorandum drafted by the Land-Grant College Association and the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1914 was so well drawn that only a modernization of language marked the revision of 1954. This is a compliment to the leadership of those early days. There has been some tendency to create a more formal Memoranda between county government and the colleges.

(e) **Organization.** At the national level, Extension has been able to carry out cooperative administration and policy formulation by full utilization of the organic structure of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities on the one hand and of the U.S. Department of Agriculture on the other. This system has provided an operational device which has been effectively utilized. While the form has not changed, the Extension Committee on Policy and the administration of the Federal Extension Service has developed more effective procedures of joint policy decision making. Policy implementation has been augmented by Federal Extension Service-regional discussions.

The trend in the last decade has been toward more multilateral decision making and less unilateral action by the Federal Extension Service. This trend, at times, may have slowed up decision making, but it has resulted in enhancing mutual understanding. Many examples can be cited, such as decisions relating to fringe benefits for employees, greater acceptance by the states of responsibility for administration of federal regulations applicable to Extension, and agreement on changes and adjustments in national program objectives and program emphasis.

Internal changes in organizational structure which have had a marked influence include the creation by many Services of top positions in which have been vested responsibility for program development. These positions have carried various titles, such as "State Program Leaders" or "Assistant Directors for Programs." This is further discussed under program development, but it is a trend of sufficient importance to justify treatment under both organizational change as well as under program development. This has sharpened the focus on the importance of program administration. At the same time it has permitted placing the management phases of administration in the hands of staff members specializing in this field.

Organizational changes in state supervision have been less marked. Supervision in most Extension Services continues to carry the dual role of management and program development. The supervisor, in effect, is asked to wear two hats. The management hat is usually the first one to be donned in the morning because management decisions won't wait. As a result, the program hat is too often not dusted off and worn until the workday is too far gone to permit the attention to program planning that is needed in a dynamic system.

More Management Positions Created

There has also been a trend toward creating more management positions. The roster of 1961 lists 86 people on state staffs who are identified as management personnel. While most of these are in the fiscal field, there has been a limited trend toward creating positions in personnel management, particularly in training and professional improvement. A few states have also assigned to a staff member the responsibility for recruiting and for screening prospective employees. This has tended to reduce the time required of supervisors for recruitment. Selection and placement, however, continue to be the responsibility of supervisory personnel.

Several institutions have moved toward consolidation of their information staffs, in many cases combining the Experiment Station information staff with that of Extension. In a few cases, this consolidation has also combined these two functions with the institution's information program covering the entire range of the institution's information and publicity program. There appears to have been but little effort to evaluate the successes, failures, or problems resulting from such consolidation.

The administrative relationship between Extension and subject-matter departments has changed to a limited degree. When organizational change has occurred, it has been in the direction of housing Extension specialists in subject-matter departments. Undoubtedly this has, as Boone pointed out in his

Ph.D. thesis[5] at the University of Wisconsin, had the effect of enhancing the status of the specialist. It has tended to bring specialist salaries more nearly in line with those of research and teaching, encourage more graduate work, and make possible academic rank for specialists, and, in a few cases, for the county staff. Various patterns exist as to the relation of the specialist to the department head and to his authority and responsibility in program development. Where change has occurred, it has created a different climate for state program leadership. Under this arrangement, they have found it necessary to work more closely with departmental administration than where the specialist staff members are not members of subject-matter departments.

Increased specialization in agriculture has created much interest and considerable action as to how to place more highly trained Extension personnel in a field closer to the scene of action. Several approaches to this problem have been used. In large, highly specialized counties, a solution has been found by placing specialized agents on the county staff. In other areas, specialists have been assigned to districts. A few attempts are being made to break down the traditional county pattern and to organize the field staff on a multi-county basis. The latter approach brings problems of joint county financing and some reluctance on the part of county government to share personnel, but progress is being made and is meeting success.

More marked in recent years has been the trend to identify one member of each county staff as the local administrator. This change has met with much success and general acceptance. It has been augmented by the creation of titles which carry the connotation of administrative responsibility, such as "County Extension Director" or "Chairman of the County Staff."

The separation of county Extension organizations from an organic or operating relationship with any specific farm organization has been practically completed. In creating Extension councils, committees, or advisory or program planning bodies in recent years, there have been "built-in" precautions designed to prevent their federation into farm organizations.

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[5] Boone, Edgar J. "The Professional Status of Extension Specialists as Compared With Research-Resident Teaching Staffs of Selected Departments in Four Land-Grant Institutions," 1959 Ph.D. Thesis.

Efforts Made to Coordinate Extension Services

Earlier reference has been made to the growing interest of Land-Grant College administration in possible efforts to bring Cooperative Extension and General Extension into a more closely coordinated off-campus program. While actual organizational changes have occurred in only two states, others have moved toward the creation of an overall coordinating group or committee.

(f) **Operational Changes.** The "instruments of cooperation," the project agreements, the plans of work, and the annual reports have, from the inception of cooperative relations, formed the operating base for carrying out the mutuality of agreement between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the State Extension Services and in meeting the legal requirements of the Smith-Lever Act. These are currently undergoing revision in form and content. This should aid in simplifying operations and make these instruments more functional.

Extension budgets have evidenced considerable growth over the years. Total funds available to the states from all sources have increased 99% from 1952 to 1962. During the same period, the F.E.S. operating budget has increased 92%. The support to the states from federal appropriations has increased 86%, from state appropriations 125% and from the counties 93%. Funds from non-tax sources for use in the states have increased but 17%.

Since 1952, there have been changes in federal regulations. Extension in 1962 received 2.5 million to meet the costs of penalty mail. Prior to 1954 this item was carried in the budget of the Post Office Department. Extension in 1962 received 6.3 million in federal funds to meet its obligation to the Civil Service Retirement Fund. This item, prior to 1958, was carried in the budget of the Civil Service Commission. If these two items are added to the overall funds appropriated for work in the states and in the federal office, the total amounts to over 170 million, 109% higher than the total of 1952.

About 80% of the Extension budget is expended for personnel. The above increases have been largely absorbed in bringing Extension salaries more closely in line with those of agencies who compete with Extension for personnel and for increases in staff numbers to meet growing demands for educational assistance in many areas. At the same time, the increased cost of travel, printing, and supplies has been increasing. Historically, an increase of over 2% in the total budget has been needed each year to offset the increased cost of operations.

Time and space will not permit an extensive comparison of Extension salaries. In fact, data are not available to permit many accurate comparisons for the ten-year period. County agricultural agents and home demonstration agents average salaries have advanced approximately 60%. This improvement has kept pace with increases in other fields and has resulted in less loss of personnel to other agencies recruiting persons with similar training and experience.

During the period 1951 to 1961, the total number of Extension workers has increased from 12,535 to 14,645, or 16.8% The number of directors and assistant directors has increased from 119 to 137 or 15.1%. Eighty-six staff members are currently listed as management personnel, whereas none were so identified 10 years ago when this work was largely the responsibility of an assistant director and clerical assistance. The number of state leaders and supervisors has increased from 777 to 950 or 22.3%. The specialist staff has grown 19.7% from 2,248 to 2,691. The field staff has moved up in numbers from 9,510 to 11,004, or 15.7%.

No attempt will be made here to indicate the "turn-over" in staff except in top administration. Of the 15 incumbents who had the title of Dean and Director, 10 have been appointed since 1952. Of the 36 Directors, 33 are new on the scene since 1952 and 13 of the 14 Associate Directors have served less than 10 years.

Increase in Search for Staff Competence

There has been a noticeable increase in the search for competence in the Extension staff. A more competitive salary level has helped make this possible. The increased interest in formal training beyond the bachelor's degree has resulted in more states recruiting specialists who have completed a Ph.D. and more opportunities are being provided for the field staff to acquire advanced training. There is a definite trend toward screening out applicants whose undergraduate grade point average is too low to permit them to be accepted in graduate schools as candidates for advanced degrees.

The search for competence could be characterized by a growing attitude that administration is largely a matter of the development of people rather than the management of things. Staffing has been given more attention, and there exists a general attitude that there is much more entailed than merely filling vacancies and that "effective staffing is necessary if Extension's objectives are to be achieved."

As a result of these changes, there has been an increased interest in job analysis, job specifications, and job descriptions in order to more nearly fit the employee to the job to be done. This interest has been closely associated with a growing interest in job performance standards and techniques for staff appraisal.

Programs of Training Strengthened

Greatly strengthened programs of inservice training and professional improvement in recent years reflect a conscious effort on the part of Extension administration to build and maintain a highly competent staff. Thirty-six states in 1960 had put the responsibility for staff training in the hands of a well qualified staff member. This is an increase from 20 states in 1952.

In 1960, 37 states provided leave privileges of 12 weeks or more for graduate study as contrasted to 20 states in 1947. The number of Extension workers enrolled in graduate programs on full-time leave has grown from 199 in 1956 to 376 in 1961. During this same period, enrollment in "on-the-job" courses has increased from 362 to 1,161. Extension education courses at the graduate level showed an increase from 738 to 950 in enrollment from 1956 to 1961.[6]

The search for competence in administration and supervision resulted in the creation in 1955 of the National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities with support from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

Since its inception, the Center has supported and assisted with administrative and supervisory workshops and conferences with a total participation of 839. Forty-seven Ph.D. degrees and 43 Master's degrees have been granted in Cooperative Extension Administration.

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[6] Data from Division of Extension Research and Training, Federal Extension Service, Dr. Mary L. Collings.

The three-week Regional School program continues to attract about the same number of students as it did in 1956. State schools of three-weeks duration show a decrease in enrollment from 923 in 1956 to 583 in 1961. The intensity of inservice training in conferences of less than three weeks has increased greatly. There were 426 staff members participating in workshops and conferences in 1956 compared to 6,847 in 1961. The 1961 figure does not include training in subject-matter fields for specialists.

It is of interest to note that little change has occurred in the number of states providing field experience for undergraduates or using trainer counties where newly employed agents can work under the supervision of experienced agents. As a consequence, the percentage of new workers receiving induction training in a trainer county has only moved up from 16% to 18% between 1956 and 1960.[7]

Increase in Fringe Benefits

Significantly, there has been an increase in fringe benefits. The general adoption of the Federal Retirement System was in part due to the insistence on the part of the Civil Service Commission that the Act would have to apply to all employees under cooperative appointment—a decision made in order to comply with the requirements of the Civil Service Retirement Act. At that time, many states had an inadequate state system of retirement for Extension employees. This situation has changed greatly in recent years, and now most states have a satisfactory retirement program for state employees. To some degree, this was influenced by the incorporation of Social Security into many state retirement systems.

The Federal Health Benefits Act and the federal group life insurance by administrative action of the Federal Civil Service Commission was made optional with the states. It has been adopted in less than a majority of the states, but in those cases it has provided a real benefit to many employees.

The decision by the Justice Department a few years ago that the federal government could be sued under the Tort Claims Act for damages growing out of accidents caused by cooperative employees has been an item of considerable interest in recent years.

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[7] *Ibid.*

(g) **Changes in Program Emphasis.** Objectives—the 1948 Joint Committee Report said:

> . . . the development of people themselves to the end that they through their own initiative may effectively identify and solve various problems affecting their welfare.

The 1958 Scope Report said:

> . . . help people attain: greater ability in maintaining more efficient farms and better homes.
>
> Greater ability in acquiring higher incomes and levels of living on a continuing basis.
>
> Increased competency and willingness by both adults and youth to assume leadership and citizenship responsibilities.
>
> Increased ability and willingness to undertake organized group action when such will contribute effectively to improving their welfare.

The two statements of objectives have much in common and, in fact, little if any differences. It would be reasonably safe to say that in general, Extension's overall objectives have not changed in the decade between these two published statements.

Research by Center Fellows indicates that in spite of the fact that in some situations, and by some people, Extension work is still considered a service function, there is a growing concept that the Extension work is educational.

Program Development. For many years, Extension administration has given consideration to the philosophy, as well as to methods and techniques of program planning and development. During the past decade, this process was again given strong emphasis by a decision of the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy to press for more action under the caption "Program Projection." There still remains the partially unsolved problem of finding the most effective means of melding specialist knowledge and interest into the program planning procedures of committees at the local level.

The sharp upturn in specialization within the farm enterprise and the increase in programs with the "off-farm" groups having highly specialized interests has continued to create a demand for greater specialization within the Extension program. This has tended toward the employment of more highly specialized specialists on the one hand and wider geographic deployment of more highly specialized staff members on the other.

As Extension has moved into broader fields, there has been a growing need to call up many disciplines in the institution which heretofore were not utilized. This has frequently meant exploring resources beyond the Colleges of Agriculture and Home Economics. A case in point was the need for assistance from the faculties of law, commerce, public health, education, and engineering, for example, in support of the Rural (Areas) Development program.

Interdisciplinary Approaches Studied

While this has been happening, stronger program leadership has been effective in strengthening interdisciplinary approaches to program development and support by state staff. This effort received considerable encouragement with the increased federal appropriation in 1954 which was granted for the specific purpose of providing support for the "Unit Approach" or "Farm and Home Development."

This method, where used with farm families on farms of marginal earning capacity, was responsible for many families making decisions as to whether they would expand their operations, either vertically by greater specialization, or horizontally with more land resources, or cast their lot with the industrial community as a means of making a satisfactory living.

Extension programs during the decade have shown considerable trend toward educational offerings of considerably more depth. Commercial farmers, more familiar with many facets of science, are evidencing greater interest in the basic scientific principles which give them a better basis for many technological and management decisions. This trend is also apparent as Extension has reached new audiences such as the service personnel of commercial firms and credit organizations. Vertical integration and contract farming have also been factors in causing this adjustment in program emphasis.

The broiler grower with 20,000 birds grown under contract is quite a different member of the Extension audience than was the farmer's wife of 20 years ago who augmented the family income with 300 chicks and a coal-burning brooder stove. The dairyman who decided to move from 10 cows to 60 cows, largely because of the introduction of bulk-handling of milk, soon appreciated the need for a scientific approach of much greater depth in dairy herd management, nutrition, herd health, and better breeding.

This trend toward more depth in Extension teaching has produced many other examples. Corn yields that with great frequency reach 100 bushels per acre have not occurred without a greater appreciation of the principles of plant breeding, cultural practice, response to new fertilizers, chemical weed control and resistance to diseases and pests. The cranberry episode of a few years ago, the flurry over penicillin and chemical residues in milk, and the use of biologics in poultry and animal production have all had a marked influence on the need for more "know why" as well as more "know how."

The greater depth in Extension's programs in management has been created by greater capitalization, the use of more credit, and the need to replace labor with machinery. Farmers today are becoming students of "linear programming," a term which a decade ago was heard only in the classroom or in conferences of business executives. The fact is now evident that commercial farmers have in the last decade become business executives in a very real sense.

Marketing and Utilization. Extension work in marketing was in reality a part of the original charter. Congressman Adair in defending the original Smith-Lever Bill said, "that the newly conceived "itinerant teacher" (as he described him) "would give as much thought to the economic side of agriculture, the marketing and grading of farm products as he gives to the matter of larger acreage yields." However, it was not until the years following World War I and the creation of the Farm Board that Extension put much emphasis on marketing. There followed a period when most of the marketing effort was directed toward assisting farmers to organize cooperatives.

Marketing received its greatest impetus with the passage in 1946 of the Research and Marketing Act with the provision that federal funds for marketing would be made available to the states on the basis of specific projects and for "new" work.

The continuous efforts of the Marketing Subcommittee of ECOP has been successful in keeping this phase of Extension work in the foreground. The study[8] conducted by Earle and Evans of the National Agricultural Extension Center in 1957 under a contract with the Federal Extension Service served a very useful purpose by evaluating the marketing program in operation at that time. It pointed up the importance of an interdisciplinary approach and proposed a more clear-cut line of administrative responsibility.

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[8] Earle, Wendell, and Evans, Jean C., "The Organization and Operation of Extension Marketing Programs In Selected States," 1957.

During the past decade, there has been a shift of emphasis toward more work with marketing firms and to consumer education. These efforts have tended toward some adjustment in organization, and more programs have been designed in which the state specialist has worked directly with the off-farm clientele in the distributive field. To a limited extent, home agents specializing in marketing have been placed in the field offices. The most marked example is in the case of consumer information.

Recent recommendations of the Marketing Subcommittee regarding a new formula for allocating federal marketing funds and their appraisal of the magnitude of the job to be done illustrate the growing importance of marketing work in the Extension program.

New Interest in Utilization

The creation of the four U.S. Department of Agriculture Regional Laboratories dedicated to research in new processes and new uses for agricultural products has resulted in a new interest by Extension in utilization. The placing of specialists in utilization on an experimental or demonstration basis on the federal staff has done much to sharpen interest in this field. As yet, state staffs have not been augmented to any appreciable degree. There is, however, an increased amount of time being devoted to this field of growing importance.

Public Affairs. The most controversial item in the Extension program over the years has been that of public affairs or public policy. The controversy has been intensified by the trend toward attempting to solve agriculture's economic problems by political action. This, in turn, has sharpened the differences in attitudes toward farm programs on the part of farm organizations, who, in turn, have tended to look askance at Extension becoming involved in much discussion of these issues. However, it was a field into which Extension was sure to be drawn. Interested people wanted to know more of the economic background and to have more information on what the impacts of legislation would be on their own operations as well as on the general well-being of the industry.

The Farm Foundation's support of Extension programs in public policy has helped greatly to clarify the issues and to assist Extension personnel in preparing and presenting materials in an objective way. Extension has learned much about how to handle controversial issues, to present the basic facts, and to discuss issues without becoming either antagonists or protagonists for any particular program.

It is of interest to note that both the present and previous Secretary of Agriculture have seen the need for greater Extension effort in this field and have urged more effort toward helping people understand the problem and the issues involved.

Scope Has Broadened Greatly

The scope of interest in public affairs has broadened greatly in the last few years. Its range has broadened from local issues, such as school questions, roads, zoning, etc. to national legislation on such matters as production control, price supports, subsidized exports and foreign trade.

Agricultural Adjustment and Rural Development. A closely allied field in which changes have occurred has to do with the total problem of adjustment in agriculture and the resulting creation of many economic and social problems affecting rural living and the rural community. These problems were brought into the spotlight by farm leaders. This resulted in the development of two agricultural adjustment centers at Land-Grant Colleges and by the instigation of the federal government during the last administration of a program of Rural Development now being given ever more emphasis by the present administration under the name of Rural Areas Development.

Most significant in this effort has been the fact that Extension was pressed more and more into its appropriate position of "earned" leadership and organizational responsibility. An equally interesting change has been greater inter-agency cooperation. These changes, combined with a greater appreciation for the ability of local lay groups to analyze situations and to develop solutions, adds greatly to Extension's well-established concepts of program building by local people supported by but not dictated to by agencies of government.

Home Economics. Home Economics Extension programs have undergone considerable adjustment over the years. From canning clubs in the early years to emphasis on the management phases of home making with the many related adjustments has been a long stride. Probably no change has been more evident in this area than that of an expanding and changing audience. The meshing of urban, suburban, and rural living, coupled with an increase in the number of women employed outside the home, have been major factors in bringing about many changes and adjustments in program content and methodology.

One-third of the nation's labor force is now made up of women with over 24 million gainfully employed in business, industry, and the professions. In 1950 there were 8 million married couples living together, but both of whom were working away from home. By 1960, this had increased to 11½ million. In 1960, one-half of the women in the work force were married and living with their husbands as compared to one-third in 1950.

These changes, coupled with new developments in marketing and the mechanization of the home, have taken home economics Extension a long way on the road of relentless change. Farm women have moved from a production economy with emphasis on the home garden, home butchering, farm flock, and the family cow to a cash economy.

Many Changes Affect Home Economics Extension

These changes have resulted in a changing role of family members with greater emphasis on means of providing for child care and in the management of the family budget. Working women find 28% of their income being expended for items directly pertaining to their jobs, while 8% is being paid to personnel to keep the home operating in their absence. Children growing up in these homes tend to have a greater sense of responsibility. Evidence does not substantiate the frequent claim that juvenile delinquency is associated with the increase in the number of mothers employed away from home.

Home economics programs in the last few years have taken these changes into account as women have become more business conscious. Investments, family budgets, insurance, wills, etc. are now frequent subjects for discussion.

Newer knowledge of nutrition has been an equally important factor in home economics programs. Weight control and other health measures now assume a more important place in Extension teaching.

4-H. All of the changes in technology in economics, in family living, and community development have had their impact on the lives of young people. This has been reflected in 4-H Club work in recent years.

The growth of the number of non-farm youngsters participating in 4-H programs has been national. A greater knowledge of the developmental needs of adolescents has focused attention on the need to develop programs more carefully tailored to the interests of young people at different stages of maturity. Greater emphasis has been placed on human relations and family and community living. Associated with this has been more attention to citizenship and to the development of leadership among 4-H members.

Extension's efforts in 4-H work have always been greatly augmented and enhanced by local adult leadership. In recent years, efforts to make this leadership more effective through better leader training have been implemented. The tremendous increase in scientific discovery has led to greater emphasis on more science in 4-H programs.

International relations have also had their impact on Extension work with young people. This has been further highlighted by the spread of 4-H-like programs to many countries of the free world. The International Farm Youth Exchange program sponsored by 4-H through the leadership of the National 4-H Foundation has been one of the world's best examples of what can be accomplished in international understanding. The Peace Corps, the nation's most recent effort in this field, is looking to 4-H experience in developing their programs in rural areas of foreign lands.

Four-H work has been greatly assisted by the continuing support of business and industry through the National 4-H Service Committee and the National 4-H Club Foundation. The building of the National 4-H Center, a foundation project, has been one of the excellent accomplishments of the last decade.

Private support to 4-H through the development of state foundations has been an outstanding example of the support business and industry are willing to provide in support of the program.

At no point is the dynamic nature of Extension more in evidence than in its work with youth.

Role of Cooperative Extension in the Land-Grant System

FRED H. HARRINGTON
President, University of Wisconsin, Madison

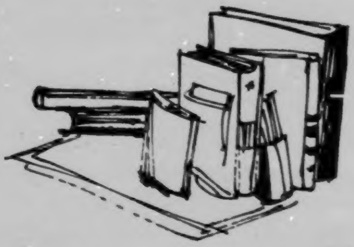
WE AMERICANS always like to listen to the views of outsiders however unprepared these outsiders are to have intelligent views. When a European traveler comes to our country he is met at the boat by the question: What do you think of the United States?

What can he think? He has not yet had any contact with America or any time to think about America.

Nevertheless, he says something and is widely quoted in the press here and abroad.

In the present case, I am the outsider. After you hear me you may think that I am like the European just off the boat. I do not know much about Cooperative Extension and I have not had time to think. I am not and never have been a state director of Cooperative Extension. I have never taught, done research, or performed extension duties in a College of Agriculture although I am a second generation Land-Grant product. I have graduated from a Land-Grant university and have spent my career at Land-Grant institutions.

I am an outsider in an additional way at this conference. I know very little about the theory of large scale organization, or the process of goal setting. So I will have to talk (1) as an historian, (2) as a University administrator, and (3) as a report writer, with my colleague Dr. Donald McNeil. I am preparing a special study for the Carnegie Corporation on the role of adult education in the university.



Cooperative Extension Has Impressive Record

In all of these roles, I am tremendously impressed by the record of Cooperative Extension. I am the more impressed, perhaps, because I have only recently begun to read the literature on Agricultural Extension and to visit your organizations. But I am impressed, in fact, I am quite bowled over by your accomplishments.

I am also willing to grant that after fifty years, Cooperative Extension is bigger than ever, stronger than ever, better than ever.

But I feel that you are doing less than you can, less than you should do. We in the university world face a most difficult period ahead. We desperately need the feel, the enthusiasm, the willingness and ability to try new things that characterize Cooperative Extension in its growing period. But I find less than I would like of this zeal and enthusiasm, this willingness and ability to try new things in Cooperative Extension today. I find many of your spokesmen defensive. I find many of you settled down, and saying that the day of innovation is over, and that Cooperative Extension must expect a period of relative decline; and must adjust itself to this decline.

After all, I hear it said, the farm population is dropping, and many successful farmers no longer need the help of Cooperative Extension. Further, many say, agriculture no longer occupies its previous position of predominance in America. Colleges of Agriculture no longer attract students as once they did. Cooperative Extension is not growing at the rate of the rest of the University—so Cooperative Extension faces a standstill future.

I find all this pessimism curious in view of the way that Cooperative Extension came into being *after* agriculture lost its position of political predominance in this country. Cooperative Extension also made its last big gain in the present decade, in years of rapidly declining farm population.

To explain, agriculture did predominate in the United States in the days of Jefferson and Lincoln; but the defeat of William Jennings Bryan for president in 1896 demonstrated clearly that agriculture had become a minority force in this country—that a farmers' party like Bryan's could not carry a national election. But it was *after* this—in the early 20th century, in a period of industrial growth—that Agricultural Extension came into being. And the most tremendous move ahead in the years since World War II further make this same point.

Five Points of Success

I said I was impressed as an historian, a University administrator and a student of adult education.

Let me specify with five points:

1) I am impressed because in the whole history of the university, *Cooperative Extension provides the chief example of a successful adult education movement* (adult education is of increasing importance, with our rapid technological change, our need for understanding domestic and foreign problems, and our increasing leisure; and you have shown how the adult can be made a better citizen).
2) *Cooperative Extension represents what is so far the only success of the federal government in providing continuing support of instruction in higher education* (Everybody is discussing the question as to how the federal government can go beyond the support of research and help on instruction without doing damage to our colleges and universities. Well, you have a successful example of support without damaging control, support in terms of teamwork between the federal government and the state and local units.)
3) *Cooperative Extension has pioneered in the introduction of new teaching techniques*—for example, the demonstration method (How often in the history of higher education have new methods been successfully introduced? Today we need new approaches. You have provided one.)
4) *Cooperative Extension has shown how to link research to action programs* (Here again we have a great problem of our day. How can we tie the scholar and scientist to the average citizen and his needs; you have done this well for a half a century.)
5) *Cooperative Extension has provided an extraordinary example of the outreach of the university* (The university has become one of the most important forces in American life, in research in training, a source of ideas, a center of literature and the fine arts. But the university often fails to maintain contact with the people. Cooperative Extension has shown how the campus can be tied to the average citizen.)

There you have five points of success.

Not in Forefront in Planning for Future

Unfortunately, there is another side to the story. Despite my admiration for your record, I am forced to confess that you are not now in the forefront in planning for the future at most of our universities. My colleague and I have read many university studies about the future, prepared by presidents, governing boards and faculty members. These say much about the "tidal wave of students," about research increases, and about the "new international dimension of higher education." But rarely do these reports mention Cooperative Extension as a dynamic force offering anything for future change in our institutions.

In pondering about this, I am forced to admit

1) That although you work very hard you put too much of your effort into running an established and successful organization, and too little into trying new approaches and taking leadership in our universities; and
2) University administrators are not adequately using your potential.

Need for Cooperation With University

Should I be specific?

A. I am pained to see how little connection there is between Cooperative Extension and the rest of the university. I am amazed to read books about Cooperative Extension that do not mention the university at all. Or, if they mention it, they mention only the College of Agriculture.

It is easy to understand this; the county agent is far from the campus and rarely has contact with it except through his Extension superiors. The director of Cooperative Extension is so busy with his organization that he cannot work with all parts of the campus. But he *must*. I find a widening gap between Cooperative Extension and basic scientists in our Colleges of Agriculture; I find most professors in other colleges indifferent to Cooperative Extension. Cooperative Extension must work with business administration and law, education and liberal arts, engineering, medicine, and fine arts much more than before. Teamwork is necessary in our complicated society, whether we are discussing the soil or marketing or recreation or transportation.

B. Since teamwork is necessary, I am distressed to find so little cooperation and so much distrust between Cooperative and General Extension. But so far we simply are not working together well.

C. Another great frontier is the international one. Here too Cooperative Extension has done much less than it should. I hope more can be done.

D. I could cite other opportunities not yet fully grasped, such as educational television.

But my main point is that Cooperative Extension should provide leadership, imaginative and enthusiastic leadership, all the way across the board. It has shown that it can do this. I hope it will again.

Cooperative Extension's Contributions to National Goals

E. T. YORK, JR.
Administrator, Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

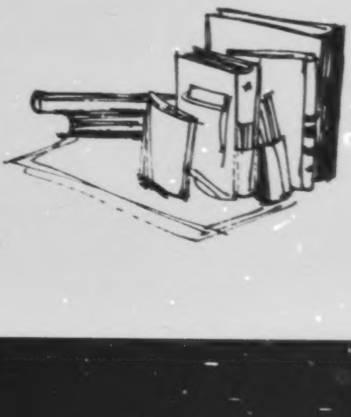
THE MAIN objective of a seminar such as this, as I see it, is to "encourage that continual sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

With this thought in mind I would like to pass along some views—others, as well as my own—on Extension's contributions to our national goals. This subject of national goals, of course, is a broad one. It would be difficult if not impossible to achieve a consensus even in a group of this size as to explicit goals for America and how Extension can contribute to these.

I should say in the beginning that we shall make no attempt to provide clear cut answers on these issues. Rather I would hope to provide a basis for some active discussion so that together we can do the necessary "sifting and winnowing."

I haven't attempted to sift out some of our activities in Extension which may be making little or no contribution to these basic goals. Perhaps you would agree that we have some. I think it might be a very productive exercise for all of us to analyze our programs carefully and constantly in the light of these basic goals in an effort to determine which of our efforts are of real significance to our nation and its people—in an effort to separate the fundamentals from the frills.

We must constantly strive to orient our efforts towards programs and activities which are of a high order of social and economic significance. Our basic mission and goal in Extension should be no less than that of helping our nation achieve its goals of primary importance.



As we look ahead in this decade of the '60's, as we observe some of the problems we as a nation face at home and abroad, what are some realistic goals towards which all of us should strive? What are some national goals to which Extension can contribute?

Goals for America

Within the past three or four years we've been experiencing a great debate revolving around our national purpose or goals. Many have suggested that as a nation we seem to be losing a sense of purpose—that we no longer have goals to unite us and provide a basic sense of direction.

Sometime ago Walter Lippman wrote:

> "The critical weakness of our society is that for the time being our people do not have great purposes which they are united in wanting to achieve. The public mood of the country is defensive, to hold on and to conserve, not to push forward and to create. We talk about ourselves these days as if we were a completed society, one which has achieved its purposes and has no further business to transact."

In a series of excellent articles treating this general topic, *Life* magazine observed that if this charge made by Lippman and echoed by many others is true, it represents something new on the American scene. The *Life* editors point out that the United States has hitherto been a country associated with great purpose. They suggested that direct relationship between the rise of nations and great purposes and similarly between the loss of such purpose and their decline. *Life* concluded with the ominous observation that a United States without a purpose may well be a United States in decline.

In apparent recognition of this concern over what some had suggested was a lack of national purpose, President Eisenhower appointed a non-partisan Commission on National Goals. He charged this group of distinguished citizens with the responsibility to "develop a broad outline of coordinated national policies and programs," and "to set up a series of goals in various areas of national activities." I am sure that many of you have read the significant report of the Commission, entitled *Goals for Americans.*[1]

This report is concerned with two broad areas—"Goals at Home" and "Goals Abroad." On the domestic scene its authors treat goals relating to (1) the individual, (2) equality, (3) the democratic process, (4) education, (5) arts and sciences, (6) the democratic economy, (7) economic growth, (8) technological change, (9) agriculture, (10) living conditions, and (11) health and welfare.

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[1] The Report of The President's Commission on National Goals, *GOALS FOR AMERICANS.* (C) 1960. by The American Assembly, Columbia University, Prentice-Hall, Inc., publisher.

In considering "goals abroad" the report was concerned with (1) helping to build an open and peaceful world, (2) defense of the Free World, (3) disarmament, and (4) the United Nations.

It seems to me that the President's Commission has suggested two basic goals. First, our primary goal at home relates to the development of the individual. This is effectively stated in a summary paragraph in the first chapter.

> "The status of the individual must remain our primary concern. All our institutions—political, social, and economic—must further enhance the dignity of the citizen, promote the maximum development of his capabilities, stimulate their responsive exercise, and widen the range and effectiveness of opportunities for individual choice.
>
> "There are many legitimate goals for the United States. None of them—literally none—is attainable without the intelligence, courage, and industry of individuals. The central goal, therefore, should be a renewal of the faith in the infinite value and the unlimited possibilities of individual development. Nothing whatever should curb man's right to life—as long, as full, as rich as life can be. In liberty, the infinite richness of his contribution to the life of others is facilitated. The pursuit of happiness is an endless quest; in it no one can 'deliver the goods' to the individual, though the environment can be vastly improved. He must seek it for himself."

When we consider the true significance of this goal, it seems that all of the other domestic goals become secondary. The goals relating to equality, the democratic process, education, economic growth, living conditions, and the rest assume a supportive role. Their significance lies in the contribution they can make in helping to achieve this basic goal of developing the individual.

And when we say that the most fundamental goal of our society is the creation of a climate in which the individual has the maximum opportunity for development, with a corresponding maximum degree of individual freedom and responsibility, we bring into sharp focus the basic difference between our democratic society and totalitarian systems of the communist world. As the President's Commission points out, "This goal (of individual development) touches the foundations of democracy."

This primary goal of individual development is closely related to our second basic goal evident in the report of the President's

Commisison. This second goal—our goal abroad—is that of building an open and peaceful world by making democracy ever more effective and individual life freerer and more rewarding. This goal would help people in other lands enjoy the same opportunity for maximum personal development and freedom to which we aspire at home.

Goals for Agriculture

With these two broad objectives before us, let us turn to problems and oportunities of more direct concern to Extension. As a basis perhaps we need to consider some overall goals in agriculture and how they relate to these two primary goals we have just discussed.

Lauren Soth, with the advice of a panel of several knowledgable people, was responsible for the chapter relating to agricultural policies in *Goals for Americans*. This advisory group included such people as Ernest T. Baughman, vice-president of the Federal Reserve Bank in Chicago; Ed Bishop, head of agricultural economics at North Carolina State College; Dr. Robert L. Clodius, chairman of the agricultural economics department at Wisconsin; and Paul Johnson, editor of *Prairie Farmer*.

In this chapter dealing with "Farm Policy for the Sixties," Soth suggests that the American people are confronted with two basic long range goals as far as agricultural policy is concerned.

The first is **the maintenance of a strong, progressive and abundantly producing agriculture.**

The second goal, consistent with our basic beliefs in equality of oportunity and fairness, is that of **enabling farm people to earn real incomes on a par with incomes in the rest of the economy—for equal ability and effort.**

The chief problem in moving towards these goals, Soth points out, is to achieve a greater measure of equality of income opportunity for people living on farms. He suggests that the reasons for the disparity of farm income today are: (1) over production of farm products in relation to the demand, and (2) excess numbers of people in agriculture.

As short range or intermediate goals for agriculture in the next decade, Soth suggests that public policy should be directed towards the following:

(1) **Liquidating the problem of farm poverty.** He points out that roughly one-half of the nation's farmers account for only 10

percent of the total farm production. (Today, 44 percent of the farmers account for only 5 percent of the total production.) He says "The lower half of agriculture is a serious blight on the United States economy. Some of the worst slum conditions in America today exist in rural areas . . ." He points out that many of these families live at a level little better than that of people in countries which we consider underdeveloped. Per capita income in many of these areas of America averages $200 a year or less—in a nation where average income per person is more than 10 times this amount.

> "This poverty section of agriculture is a burden on the rest of the country because it imposes welfare costs both in the home areas and in areas where migrants resettle. People from these areas are poorly fitted for city jobs and they often add to the problems of delinquency and crime.."

But even more important, this is a costly waste of human resources. The underemployment in agriculture adds up to an equivalent of 1.4 million man years of unemployment. And economists tell us that this excess labor in agriculture reduces our potential gross national product about 1 percent, or the equivalent of about $5 billion. Obviously, this situation represents a serious failure to achieve our first basic goal of giving the individual the maximum opportunity for development.

As a means of helping to "liquidate" the problem of farm poverty, Soth suggests that by 1970 the United States needs to provide non-farm jobs for about 1½ million farm operators who now earn less than $1500 per year in farming.

(2) The second intermediary goal suggested by Soth is that of **"bringing farm production into reasonable balance with demand at prices approximating the 1959–60 ratio of prices of farm products to prices farmers pay."** This represents about 80 percent of parity. He points out that farm output is running about 7 percent above the amount that would sell in a free market at current prices and suggests a 7 percent cut in total output.

(3) The third goal is that of **raising real net income per person of commercial farm families on the order of 10 percent above the 1959–60 level**—with per capita farm income rising at least as fast as national income thereafter. Soth points out that if efforts to accomplish a balance in production and demand

are succesful (goal 2), government price and income supports could be greatly reduced and possibly eliminated.

In considering these goals, Soth suggested that all public policies designed to raise farm income in the 60's should be consistent with (1) restraint of current agricultural output and, (2) facilitating the transfer of labor from farming to other occupations.

I want to come back to these goals later because I think they provide a good basis for our consideration of Extension's responsibilities in this area. These goals are closely related, also, to the *Goals and Objectives for Agriculture* which were set forth last October by the National Agricultural Advisory Commission.

The Advisory Commission declared:

> "The basic aim of public policies concerned with the welfare of American agriculture should be to create an environment in which farm people will have the necessary opportunities to make constructive contributions to the growth, development and security of our nation, while at the same time they are encouraged and permitted to earn a level of living comparable to that enjoyed by other members of society. In short, the American farmer justifiably wants to be a full-fledged American citizen with the rights, duties, opportunities and rewards which are customarily accorded to non-farm members of our society."

The goals enunciated by Soth and the Agricultural Advisory Commission are more or less specific economic objectives for agriculture. Perhaps we can best summarize these economic goals by considering briefly the three basic goals which are widely regarded as dominating economic policy here in the United States. These were stated by George Stigler of the University of Chicago in a paper in the *Journal of Business* entitled, "The Goals of Economic Policy."

The first of these goals is **maximum output—employing as fully and efficiently as possible the resources at society's disposal.**

The second goal is **the growth of the economy.** This results from the development of natural resources, capital accumulation, and the discovery of new products and technologies—leading to a steady rise over time in the level of income relative to population.

The third primary goal of economic policy, perhaps recognized to a lesser extent, is **the reduction in income inequality**— or the achievement of the minimum inequality of income.

Extension's Contributions to Agricultural Goals

Now let us examine these goals in the light of what Extension has done, is doing, and can do to contribute to their realization.

The first of these goals stated by Stigler—that of maximum output—has long been a basic objective of Extension work with farmers. In the early days of Extension, with rapidly expanding domestic and foreign markets—and in several periods since—there have been great national pressures for increased agricultural production. Extension has helped farmers meet these challenges by emphasizing the need for and working towards full and efficient employment of resources going into agriculture.

Furthermore, Extension's success in attaining these objectives has contributed greatly to realization of the second goal outlined by Stigler—that of increased economic growth. You are well aware of how improved agricultural efficiency has released manpower and other resources—resources that were necessary for developing other segments of our nation's economy. Similarly, this increased efficiency made it possible for the American consumer to spend an ever decreasing portion of his income for the products of agriculture, thus giving him greater buying power and creating demands for other goods and services. These advances in agriculture have contributed in large measure to our nation's economic growth and to the achievement of living standards here in the United States second to none anywhere.

Yes, we in Extension can be very proud of our contributions in helping build the most efficient agriculture in the history of mankind—in contributing to maximum and efficient use of resources in agriculture and thereby to economic growth.

We must remind ourselves, however, that Stigler wasn't referring to maximum output from agricultural resources alone. He was discussing economic policy for the nation as a whole. And if we consider objectively our contribution to agriculture in relation to the rest of the economy, we might raise some questions as to whether Extension has, in fact, made a maximum contribution in these areas.

One question, for example, might deal with the contribution that agriculture's underemployed resources could have made to economic growth if they had been shifted to other segments of the economy. We have made great contributions in agriculture. Could we have made an even greater contribution if we had diverted more of our efforts to helping shift unneeded resources out of agriculture?

Resource adjustments are, of course, inevitable when you have increased efficiency. Whenever you increase efficiency faster in one segment of the economy than another, you must shift some resources out of that segment. This challenges an organization such as Extension to help facilitate these adjustments.

I hasten to add that, just as Extension can't claim all the credit for agriculture's successes, we don't have to accept all the blame for agriculture's inability to adjust rapidly to the social and economic changes taking place. We can very properly ask, however, if we have exerted maximum effort in this area—if we have done all that is possible to help farmers, individually and in groups, to make the necessary resource adjustments.

And what about the last of Stigler's goals—as well as the three intermediary goals outlined by Soth? **What is Extension doing to reduce inequality of income of farm people?**

Individual vs. Group Effects

It is true that we c[illegible]—and quite frequently do—cite examples of how Extension h[illegible]ntributed to substantial improvement in the incomes of specific individuals. However, many have suggested that these examples could not be representative of the average farmer. If so, they contend, we would not be confronted with the great disparity in farm and nonfarm income or with the serious problem of "farm poverty" referred to by Soth.

Per capita farm income from 1950 to 1960 declined from 53 percent to 43 percent of nonfarm income. The ever-tightening cost-price squeeze in agriculture is reflected in the fact that from 1950 to 1959, farm production expenses increased from 60 to 70 percent of gross farm income.

A single individual or even a small percentage of the total may benefit greatly from the application of new technology leading to increased efficiency and productivity. When a high percentage of the farmers adopt the same technology however, the effect may be to increase production to the extent that prices are reduced and overall income may be actually lowered. This is, in fact, what has happened in many cases.

This is no new and startling economic theory. It is a well recognized fact. Yet I wonder at times if we in Extension are giving adequate recognition to this.

Our educational efforts are in a large measure developed for and directed towards the individual. As an agronomist I have many times taken the results of a fertility experiment and showed farmers where one dollar invested in fertilizers would give a four or five dollar return in increased crop production. This was perfectly valid research. There is no question that within the limits of probability, farmers could expect to get this sort of return—provided the prices received by the farmer remained the same as those used in the illustration. Yet when a large number of farmers begin to adopt such a practice, production will be increased to the extent that the price of the commodity will likely drop. As a result, the farmer may realize far less return than this perfectly good (though perhaps inadequately interpreted) agronomic research might have suggested.

As county agents project county programs or as directors consider the development of opportunities in agriculture in their States, we often follow the same pattern of thinking. We set goals for increasing production and attach dollar values to these. But sometimes we fail to take into consideration what the rest of the world will be doing while we work toward these goals.

As a State Director, I recall suggesting to the cattlemen in my State that since we produce less than 1 percent of the nation's supply of beef, we could easily double that production without having any significant influence nationally on the total supply or price. And there is nothing wrong with this logic—if we assume that everyone else is going to sit back and do nothing. Obviously, however, this is not likely to be a valid assumption.

This line of thinking fails to take into account that what is good for the individual may not be good for society as a whole —that what is good for Alabama's cattlemen may not be good for American agriculture.

When we look at Extension's efforts to help individual farmers increase production—and the growing disparity between farm and nonfarm income—a question can be raised as to whether we have adequately considered individual vs. society's interests. Even more disturbing, the question might be raised as to whether Extension is contributing to, rather than reducing, the inequality of income of farm people.

Does this mean that our efforts to increase productivity and efficiency are not important? Should we, as some have suggested, declare a moratorium on research and education relating to production technology? I would register a very emphatic "No" to both questions.

In my opinion, one of our most important jobs in Extension is to continue to help farmers apply the very best technology available. As Stigler pointed out, this has always been a fundamental goal in our economic policy. It is inherent in the philosophy on which our great nation has been built.

We may at times have inadequately interpreted the results from the application of such technology. But this doesn't mean we should lessen emphasis on its use. Today's agriculture is a highly competitive and complex operation. The farmer, the county, or the State which fails to make use of the best, most up-to-date agricultural technology will rapidly find himself or itself out of business.

Rather than de-emphasizing our efforts in this area, we need to go one step further than we sometimes have in the past. We need to help individual farmers, counties, and States analyze their competitive position in relation to other farmers or other areas. There is nothing wrong per se in encouraging Alabama's [illegible]emen to expand production, provided these producers have competitive advantage because of good market facilities, low production costs, favorable freight rates, and other economic factors. Extension has or can gain access to information that may not be availaible to individual producers or groups of producers. We have an obvious educational responsibility in this area.

By providing these facts and assisting farm people in making such analyses, we can help them determine which enterprise or combination of enterprises gives them the best competitive advantage. If we can aid farmers in channeling production into areas of greatest advantage, we can maximize our contribution to the nation's economic growth.

But we must go still further and help provide for the shift out of agriculture of those resources having the least competitive advantage. If these resources can be shifted in sufficient quantities as new technology is applied, we won't have the income-depressing effects which sometimes accompany widespread application of new technology. Farmers then will receive the just rewards we usually associate with initiative and increased efficiency in other sectors of the economy.

Reducing Income Inequality

Resource adjustment is an absolute necessity, too, if we are to achieve the three intermediate goals cited by Mr. Soth—all of which are related to income improvement, or as Mr. Stigler put it, reduction in income inequality. The question Extension faces is: How can we help facilitate these adjustments or shifts of resources?

Soth's first goal of "liquidating farm poverty" is concerned more with a sociological than a farm problem. As we pointed out earlier, part of this problem is caused by an excess of resources—in some instances too many people as evidenced by the 1.4 million man years of underemployment.

Excess resources are not unique to agriculture, of course. In a dynamic economy such as ours, other industries frequently find themselves in a similar position. These industries can reduce the excess by the simple expedient of laying off part of the working force. For example, the steel industry a few years ago was operating at only about 50 prcent of capacity but its profits continued to be relatively stable.

Agriculture, however, made up as it is of nearly 4 million individual enterprises, can't make such rapid shifts of human resources. And the fact that this problem concerns people not only complicates the situation but it also makes more compelling the necessity to resolve it.

It raises the very fundamental question, too, as to how we can adjust or shift human resources in a free economy such as ours. Obviously, we can't move people around like pawns in a chess game.

Our best hope for any solution to this problem appears to lie creating or making available other, more attractive opportunities, such as off-farm jobs and training for new occupations. Such opportunities will help speed up the shift of human resources to other sectors of the economy.

This is why I have been so interested in the Rural Areas Development program and so anxious for Extension to exercise vigorous and dynamic leadership in this effort. This program, in my opinion, offers excellent opportunities for Extension to contribute substantially to the achievement of this particular goal. I believe that this effort can be very effective in helping to provide the means by which many farmers with limited opportunities in agriculture can shift into other occupations. In so doing, they can earn a higher income and become more productive members of society.

The goal of bringing farm production into reasonable balance with demand is also concerned with resource adjustment. This is a goal which can and frequently does provoke heated controversy. Few question the desirability of the goal. Many disagree over the means by which it can be achieved.

How can Extension contribute to the realization of this goal? We are concerned here primarily with questions of public policy wherein Government, directly or indirectly, may function in helping achieve this desired balance. The great need today is for people to understand the necessity for resource adjustment, various alternative approaches to this problem, and their likely consequences. This is essential for the effective operation of the democratic process.

Extension can make a very significant and greatly needed contribution to this goal by doing a thorough and effective job of providing the people, farm and nonfarm alike, a better understanding of this problem and appreciation of the alternative means by which it might be resolved. This is a legitimate educational function—provided it *is educational*—provided it involves a completely unbiased and objective treatment of the problem.

Realization of the third goal of raising real net income of commercial farm families is closely tied to the objective of achieving a better balance between production and demand. Again, adjustments or shifts of resources are essential if this goal is to be achieved.

Net farm income can, in many cases, be increased through the use of better management practices on the farm—through maximum and efficient use of present resources. Extension, through such efforts as Farm and Home Development and other management training programs, can make a substantial contribution to this goal. Resource adjustments on individual farms, of course, must be accompanied by programs aimed at making the necessary overall adjustments between agriculture and other parts of the economy.

Freedom with Responsibility

The achievement of the second and third goals may involve some restriction in the production of certain agricultural commodities. One might obviously ask if this is not in conflict with our first basic goal relating to the freedom and rights of the individual. Indeed, we hear much these days about the farmer losing this freedom.

Some would counter with the point that with freedom there must be corresponding responsibility. While we cherish our freedom as American citizens, no one would contend that unrestricted freedom irrespective of the consequences is necessarily desirable. Consequently, certain restrictions are imposed upon that freedom when it is in the public interest to do so. This may be done voluntarily or, when necessary, by government action.

Goals for Americans points out:

> "because of the increasing pressures of man against man in this shrunken and crowded world, there has been a growing number of compulsions upon the individual, designed to require him to do things for the general welfare, as well as his own benefit.
>
> "One of the commonest compulsions is school attendance; its purpose is to develop the individual and protect society. Compulsory vaccination is a health measure—with like dual purpose. Many other examples could be cited. Each is defensible when it does not inhibit essential free choices and when non-performance would involve danger, needless cost, or disadvantages to others. Those are the tests of the boundary between liberty and license; one man's freedom should involve no trespass upon others' rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The automobile industry presumably has all the "freedom" it needs to run its assembly lines night and day until it has flooded the market and gone broke. Yet few responsible people would agree that it would be in the public interest for Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and the others to do this even though the public might, temporarily, get some good buys in automobiles. In the long run the public would likely suffer along with the bankrupt industry.

Would I dare say, "If this is not good for General Motors, can it be good for the farmer?"

With a limited number of automobile manufacturers, it is relatively easy for each company to anticipate its share of the market and gear its production accordingly. This is not the case with some 4 million individual farmers. Consequently, Government has frequently been asked to provide some mechanism whereby this goal of achieving balance in agricultural production and demand might be realized. The debate continues to revolve around how this can best be done.

Extension's Contributions to Other National Goals

In our discussion of agricultural goals, we have been concerned primarily with matters relating to economic goals. We in Extension also have opportunities to make significant contributions to achievement of our political and social goals.

Political Goals

Our primary political goal is to strengthen the democratic process and maintain the democratic system. As *Goals for Americans* points out:

> "Improvement of the democratic process requires a constantly better informed public . . . Whether for their own ends or for those of the community, whether at the polls or on public platforms or in private meetings, the citizens of a democracy are expected to take an active interest and role . . . The democratic process functions only when the individual accepts his full responsibility as a citizen by forming considered opinions on public policy."

Extension has a great opportunity to contribute to this goal of strengthening the democratic process and system through well-planned educational efforts dealing with important public issues—particularly those confronting farm and rural people. I have already referred to this with regard to certain farm policy issues. In my opinion this offers one of our greatest challenges.

Social Goals

How can Extension contribute to the goal of aiding people in attaining their "unalienable right . . . to the pursuit of happiness?" How can we help people learn to live, as well as earn a living?

Extension home economists have helped people create better environments which lead to a richer, fuller, more satisfying life. Their work in health, welfare, nutrition, better management of time and other resources, leadership development, and other areas has contributed to this important goal. Our 4-H programs, too, have helped millions of young people to develop into mature, responsible citizens.

But much more can be done to give people greater awareness and appreciation of the cultural, intellectual, and moral factors which are essential elements in a democratic society. As *Goals for Americans* points out:

> "As the incomes of people have risen, a proportionate share has not been devoted to intellectual and artistic pursuits. As leisure has increased, so has the amount of time given to unproductive and often

> aimless activities. Too few of these leisure-time activities hold real meaning in the lives of individuals or of the community.
>
> "In part the goals in this area must consist of a sensitive appreciation of what is going on in the depth of society, a capacity for awareness, a gift for distinguishing between true and spurious forms of art. At their most ambitious, these goals must consist of efforts to encourage and bring to fulfillment the best of what already exists in embryo."

We have virtually unlimited opportunities to contribute to this basic goal.

Goals in Education

Because of Extension's unique educational function and the fact that education is an essential factor in attaining all our economic, political and social goals, I want to take just a few moments to give special consideration to this fundamental goal.

Again quoting from *Goals for Americans:*

> "The development of the individual and the nation demands that education at every level and in every discipline be strengthened and its effectiveness enhanced . . . A higher proportion of the gross national product must be devoted to educational purposes. This is at once an investment in the individual, in the democratic process, in the growth of the economy, and in the stature of the United States."

Never in history has there been greater recognition of the importance of education as there is today. Statistics relating to the educational level of American citizens emphasize the challenge confronting all educational institutions.

More than one-third of the young people today do not complete high school; less than one out of four enters college; and only one-half of these—about 1 in 8—graduates.

These statistics suggest, first, a challenge to help meet the needs of a higher perecentage of our population through formal university education. But an even greater challenge is to assist the much larger number who never have an opportunity to enter the ivy-covered halls of the university.

We should point out that irrespective of an individual's training—no matter if he has taken all the formal training a university can offer in a given field—there is a need for continuing education, merely to keep abreast of the tremendous changes occurring about us. Certainly there is no terminal point to education.

When President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act and our Land-Grant Institutions began to emerge on the American scene, we could have expected the total accumulation of knowledge at that time to have doubled in the next 100 years. Of course, this knowledge has doubled many times in the past century, and today we are told that our present knowledge can be expected to double within the next 8 years.

This points to the absolute necessity for expanded programs of continuing education such as those of the Cooperative Extension Service, to enable people to keep abreast of new developments emerging at an ever faster pace. The Cooperative Extension Service is widely regarded both here and abroad as the most effective informal, continuing educational program in the world. We are today faced with a great challenge to maintain and strengthen that reputation in contributing to the realization of this important national goal in education.

Our Goals Abroad

Let us take a brief look now at our primary goal abroad—that of building an open and peaceful world—a world in which others enjoy the same opportunities as we for maximum personal development and freedom. Extension can make two very significant contributions to this goal.

First, by helping to maintain a strong and productive agriculture at home, we can share our abundance with other nations and thereby help bolster their economy. Last fall, in a visit to Southeastern Asia I saw the products of American agriculture being used to help prevent political unrest. Without such aid these people would have been hungry and more subject to ideologies alien to democracy and the western world. Someone has said that one of the greatest deterrents to communism is a full stomach. American agriculture is helping to provide that deterrent in many nations around the world today. Extension has contributed much to making this possible. We have continuing opportunities in this area.

I was particularly impressed during this trip by the fact that this food was in many cases serving a dual purpose. It was feeding hungry people—but it was also being used in support of programs of economic development in these countries. The food was either being sold to the people and money used to strengthen the economy, or in some cases, the food was used as payments in kind for labor employed in the construction of dams, roads, irrigation systems, or other public works, contributing to the further development of the nation's economy. The ultimate objective of this was to help these nations become strong and self reliant.

I look upon this as a short range contribution by American agriculture to our goals abroad. However, we have an opportunity for an even more significant and lasting contribution by helping these emerging nations develop their own institutions—particularly in research and education.

Most of these countries we visited last fall, and many others like them around the world, are establishing increased agricultural production as **their** primary national goal. In country after country I heard government leaders say that their number one need to enable them to achieve this goal was a strong and effective extension program. In the country having what I consider the best Extension program of any we visited, a country which organized its Extension Service with American assistance less than 10 years ago—a prominent leader in agriculture made this comment: "The United States has helped my nation in many ways. Your greatest contribution, however, is in giving us your concepts of Extension education and helping us develop an effective agricultural Extension program."

Unfortunately, the type of progress enjoyed by this country has not been realized by a high percentage of the other emerging nations of the world.

I firmly believe that Extension has one of its greatest challenges and opportunities to contribute to a goal of supreme importance to our nation by committing more of its best resources to the support of technical assistance programs aimed at helping these emerging nations develop effective Extension programs of their own. I have already had several discussions with officials of AID concerning this matter. I plan to consider it further with the State Directors.

Extension's Goal

Let me say in closing that I have enjoyed this opportunity to consider some of Extension's contributions to national goals. Such an exercise has helped me gain a better perspective of some of the significant contributions Extension is making, or should be making, towards the realization of these goals.

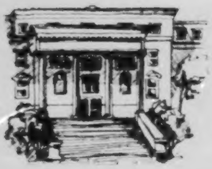
The challenge which lies ahead for Extension is summed up in a remark made more than 50 years ago by President William

Oxley Thompson of Ohio State University: "An institution," he said, "is to be operated for the good it can do, for the people it can serve, for the science it can promote, for the civilization it can advance."

This is a continuing challenge to Extension as we look to the future. I am confident that Extension can and will continue to make important contributions to America's goals, both at home and abroad.

Part II

Formulating Goals and Individual Achievement



The Individual and Goal Achievement

GEORGE B. STROTHER

Professor of Commerce and National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study, University of Wisconsin, Madison

OUR concern in this report is to examine the place of the individual in the organization—the way in which organizations may improve the contribution of the individual to the organizational goals.

The goal of this report and its achievement will almost certainly be at variance. We are not yet at the point where a comprehensive theory of individual achievement can be stated but the general outlines of such a theory are beginning to emerge. Hopefully we will explore some of the research and theory which is helping to form these outlines and emerge, not with a formula for a comprehensive theory, but with a little better orientation as to where we are going. This report will be organized under seven major headings.

(1) **Output**—the need for working definitions of what constitutes good performance.

(2) **Supervision**—the effect of the supervisor upon performance.

(3) **Groups**—the effect of the group upon the performance of the individual.

(4) **Organization**—consideration of the ways in which organization structure affects the individual.

(5) **Motivation**—the problem of individual needs and incentives.

(6) **Conflict**—the ways in which the individual reacts to frustration within the framework of organization.

(7) **Harmony**—an attempt to bring together the findings of the preceding six sections into principles for reconciling individual needs and the goals of the organization.

INTRODUCTION

Men have been concerned with the problems of organizations since the emergence of the first nation-states at the dawn of historic times. This concern was accentuated after the Reformation and the Renaissance by the increasing complexity of the political units being formed but even in earliest times the argument between two basically different models of organizations began to emerge.

The state, as seen by Plato, was a rational organization in which the basic labors necessary to the survival of the state were divided into three groups—the work of the laborer, the work of the soldier and the work of the philosopher-kings.

In more recent times such philosophers as Hobbes in the 17th century, and Rousseau in the 18th century have conceived of political organizations in terms of a non-rational model. They attempted to base organizations upon a psychological concept of men with goals, needs and desires. The function of organizations in this psychologically conceived framework was to provide the basis for effective cooperation in the achievement of shared goals.

With the industrial revolution and the rise of large industrial organizations, organization theory began to take on a more pragmatic view. It became less the concern of philosophers attempting to justify the organizations of states and governments and more the concern of people trying to explain the modern industrial organizations.

The work of Taylor in the closing years of the 19th century was the basis upon which modern classical business organization theory was founded. It may not be entirely fair to Taylor to characterize his approach and that of his followers as a human engineering approach. In essence, however, it is true the approach of the classical organization theorist was essentially mechanistic, conceiving of organization in relatively simple input-output terms. This approach to organizations dominated the thinking of writers and research workers for a number of years. Even today, in many classrooms over the nation, organization theory is being taught in schools of business following the mechanistic model begun by Taylor and still being added to by such writers as Koontz and O'Donnel, Colonel Urwick and R. C. Davis. Closely paralleling the industrial model has been the development of the sociological model of a rational bureaucracy. The name of Max Weber (29) is the one most frequently associated with this approach which resembles that of classical industrial theory in emphasizing rationality, hierarchy and technical efficiency.

It is convenient, if somewhat misleading, to set up significant mileposts in history. If a single date can be assigned to the beginning of a different approach to organizations, it would be the date of the Hawthorne Experiments at Western Electric. Prior to 1933, the bulk of empirical studies done in industry were concerned with efficiency. They were studies of ventilation, lighting, motion, and other technical aspects of work. The Hawthorne Experiments began in much the same way. As an added control, at the end of a long series of experiments, the original base conditions were repeated. Much to the surprise of the experimenters, another increase in efficiency was observed.

This caused the experimenters to reconsider their findings and they arrived at the conclusion that one of two things must explain the otherwise incomprehensible results. The two things which they singled out as being important were: the change of the method of supervision that went with the experiment and second, the change in the social climate of the job. This study stimulated the writing of several books and began a line of experimentation that we might best characterize as initiating the human relations period in the study of organizations. The human relations point of view, like the point of view of the 17th and 18th century philosophers, emphasized the central position of man's social makeup in the shaping of organizations. Emphasis was placed less on formal organizations and more on the characteristics of leadership, interactions in groups, motivation, and conflict as opposed to the classical approach which emphasized largely the concept of structure.

Within the last few years a reaction to the human relations point of view has set in. It is not surprising since the human relations point of view was, in many ways, carried to irrational extremes, and the concept of a work group as primarily a social gathering created certain untenable implications for organization theory. It appears from a review of the recent research and writing on the subject of organizations that some sort of a reconciliation is taking place between the classical, the human engineering, and the rational bureaucracy approaches on the one hand and the human relations approach on the other.

This reconciliation is giving rise to an equilibrium theory of organization—a theory which sees organization in terms of a total social context; composed of people who have desires, aspirations, fears and capacities; but also having the rational structure necessary for effective cooperation.

If one man can be credited with initiating the rapprochement between classical and human relations theory, it is Chester Barnard, formerly President of New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, who, in his book, *The Functions of the Executive*, (1938) (3) has brought together the results of classical theory and the results of human relations theory in a concept of organization as a system in equilibrium. We are far from having achieved a comprehensive theory of organization, but the job is going on in such a way as to encourage a feeling of considerable optimism with respect to the future of organization theory.

There are still those who see the relationship between the individual and the organization as one of conflict. Chris Argyris in his book *Personality and Organization* (1957) (1) seems to indicate that the individual is in a natural state of warfare with organizations. William H. White in his widely quoted book, *The Organization Man* (1957) (30) paints a gloomy picture of men being remodeled like zombies in the image of organizations. There is undoubtedly a degree of truth in these portraits. Organization can be carried to an extreme, and organizations can become strait-jackets rather than aids to human cooperation. A number of writers who have accepted Max Weber's concept of an organization as a rational bureaucracy have pointed out that the rational model can be carried to a pathological extreme; that the functionaries in a bureaucracy may become so obsessed with hierarchy, status, standard procedures and rules that there takes place a means-end transformation so that the goal of the organization becomes one of serving of the structure rather than the end for which the structure exists

It is equally difficult, however, to conceive of modern social organization in terms of a loose association of volunteers. The modern, complex, social organization requires subordination to hierarchy and distinctions of status. It owes much of its efficiency to the division of labor and the rise of the specialist. Without these the technical efficiency that is necessary to space travel or the hydrogen bomb would be impossible.

OUTPUT

If it is true that modern organization theory is moving toward the concept of organization as a system in equilibrium, it should be helpful to visualize the outlines of such a system. The system may be conceived of in two ways: first, as an open system which exists in relationship to a specific environment; and second, as a closed system which can be thought of without reference to the total environment. The open system might be thought of in terms of a physical model as illustrated in Figure 1. Chester Barnard (3) has stated that the output of organizations must be conceived of in terms of two categories which he has called "effectiveness and efficiency". By effectiveness he meant that an organization must accomplish its stated goals in order to survive. By efficiency he meant that these goals must be accomplished with due regard to the satisfaction of those who make up the total clientele of the organization. Thus, any organization must produce goods or services to be effective, but it must do so with satisfaction to the owners, the consumers of these services, the employees, suppliers and the public. Without the acceptance of these groups, the organization will cease to exist, no matter how technically competent it is in producing goods and services.

Figure 1

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZATION

INPUT	OUTPUT	
Factors in production	**Effect**	**Efficiency**
MEN	UTILITIES	OWNERS
MONEY		CONSUMERS
MACHINES	GOODS AND SERVICES	EMPLOYEES
MATERIALS		SUPPLIERS
METHODS		PUBLIC

On the input side, an organization may be thought of in these terms as utilizing men, money, machines, materials and methods in order to achieve the desired output.

The goals of the organization arise out of the necessity of maintaining some kind of a state of equilibrium between the demands made by the input characteristics and the demands made by the owners, the consumers, the employees, the suppliers and the public.

In a governmental organization, ownership and the public interests tend to be identical. The suppliers tend to be less important and the total objectives of the organization are framed largely in terms of the demands of public policy, the actions of the employees, and the demands of those served. Administrative officers, consciously or unconsciously, frame their objectives largely in terms of the pressures created by these three groups. The achievement of the organization, then, is measured in terms of the success with which the organization can attain its explicit or implicit goals.

The second model referred to, which conceives of an organization as a closed system, is essentially a psychological model. It takes the existence of goals for granted and attempts to explain how the organization achieves these goals. The model referred to here is illustrated in Figure 2 and is the one suggested

Figure 2

STRUCTURE OF A THEORY OF ORGANIZATION ACHIEVEMENT

MEMBER INPUTS	MEDIATING VARIABLES		GROUP OUTPUTS
Behaviors	Formal Structure	Role Structure	Achievement
PERFORMANCES	FUNCTION	RESPONSIBILITY	PRODUCTIVITY
INTERACTIONS	STATUS	AUTHORITY	MORALE
EXPECTATIONS	(PURPOSE, NORMS)	(OPERATIONS)	INTEGRATION
GROUP STRUCTURE AND OPERATIONS			EFFECTS

From Stogdill, Ralph M. *Individual Behavior and Group Achievement*, 1959, Oxford University Press (Reproduced by permission of publisher) by Stogdill (1959) (26) in a provocative book entitled *Individual Behavior and Group Achievement.* Time does not permit detailed consideration of the Stogdill model; only a few of its main features can be noted.

First consider the output side of the model. Output is defined in terms of three dimensions: productivity, morale, and integration. Productivity is self-explanatory and refers to the success with which the organization is able actually to create the goods or services intended. Morale refers to the satisfaction which the organization creates, particularly with reference to the people who make up the organization. Integration refers to the capacity of the organization to adjust to stress. Stogdill's position essentially is that these three are not necessarily related. An organization may be successful in achieving a high level of productivity at the cost, for example, of low morale or reduced ability to survive under stress.

This, like Barnard's suggestion that we must consider both effectiveness and efficiency, points up the fact that organizations do not succeed or fail merely in terms of simple production goals. Viewed in this light, motivation becomes a more complex problem since an employee, highly motivated with respect to production, may not be high in job satisfaction or willingness to contribute creatively to the organization. The method of supervision, rates of pay, promotion policy, and many other administrative decisions must be made in terms of their effect, not on productivity alone, but on the total output of the organization. One of the virtues of Stogdill's formulation is that it avoids the apparent contradictions resulting when output is defined in terms of a single dimension. The usefulness of this formulation will become increasingly evident as we consider studies on motivation.

On the output side, the main problem is an acceptable definition of performance. In a relatively simple and routine job, performance may be measured by a counter: a worker puts out so many units of work of acceptable quality per hour. As the job becomes more complex, it becomes more difficult to define performance.

The monthly report filed by agents in many states is a good example. Those who have attempted to evaluate the performance of a staff member by his reports appreciate the difficulty of measuring complex performance in terms of units produced. For this reason, other objective bases of evaluation have been tried: turnover, sales, absenteeism, for example.

Generally, the more complex the job, however, the more we are forced back on what has been called job performance reputation. Job performance reputation may be another name for hearsay and snap judgments, or it may be a careful assessment by merit-rating techniques. Merit-rating techniques have the advantage over uncontrolled judgments of being made in a systematic and explicit way, but the correlations between judgments about performance and objective measures of performance are low at best. In several recent studies where a variety of performance measures were available, inter-correlations between the various performance measures varied considerably. In some cases correlations between one measure and another were high enough to warrant regarding these two measures as evaluations of the same thing. In other cases the correlations were low enough to force the conclusion that the two measures are entirely different.

Turner (1960) in a study of foremen concluded that four factors accounted for most of the performance measures which he used. These four factors were: (1) reputation; (2) employee relations as measured by actual personnel data; (3) cost; and (4) production. A foreman with high merit ratings might well have a poor record with respect to employee relations as measured by such things as turnover and absenteeism. A foreman with good employee relations might be found to have a poor cost record; and a foreman with a high production record might be found to have a poor cost record as measured by spoilage and other cost factors.

To translate this into terms of Extension, we might well find that a staff with a low turnover would have a poor record of production, or two production measures might be unrelated: Ferver (1961), (10) in a doctoral dissertation completed at Wisconsin, found a low relationship between agents' success in agriculture and their success in community development programs. In short, we cannot be content to ask the question: "How good is his performance?" The question must be framed in terms of the kind of performance with which we are concerned.

We have raised two questions. One, what is an effective individual, and two, what is an effective organization? We have seen that the answers are far more complex than many early studies of organizations had assumed. This is not cause for discouragement. The willingness to view organizational achievement in more complex terms promises to clear up many difficulties and misunderstandings which have previously existed; and as we go into areas of supervision, motivation, group effects and conflict, a more sophisticated definition of organizational achievement will be an invaluable aid in broadening and deepening our understanding of organizational achievement.

SUPERVISION

Those of us whose working lives began in the Depression years can testify that the behavior of supervisors has undergone a marked change since that time. Starting with the findings of the Hawthorne experiments and the findings of Carl Rogers in the realm of psychotherapy and accelerated by the New Deal's social legislation, the increasing strength of the unions, and the increasing emphasis on personnel management, supervisory behavior has undergone a marked change. The hard-bitten, rough-talking supervisor of the 1920's and 1930's has been replaced by a supervisor who is a graduate of courses in human relations, who has experienced the impact of the grievance machinery if his behavior has not met modern standards, and who has been told again and again that he must lead rather than drive.

Mason Haire (1962) (11) traces this change in terms of a shifting source of authority. Authority has shifted in the modern industrial organization more and more from a point external to the work group to a point within the work group. As Haire points out, authority originally was synonymous with ownership. He sees in the future the possibility that authority will be seen as residing entirely in the work group and that our traditional hierarchical type of organization will be replaced by an organization conceived of in terms of interlocking work groups. Even in military organizations, it has now become the vogue to teach courses in human relations and moral leadership.

In a study done by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan in 1950 (Katz *et al.*, 1950) (15) first line supervisors were classified as to whether they gave close supervision or general supervision and as to whether they were primarily production-centered or employee-centered. Sections were then classified into high-producing and low-producing. Katz and his associates found that sections given general supervision were considerably more likely to be high-producing sections and that sections under employee-centered supervision were also more likely to be high-producing sections.

However, another study by the Survey Research Center did not find these relationships with railway construction gangs. Tannenbaum and associates (1961) (28) in a study of supervisors at a naval research facility found that employees working under a permissive supervisor were considerably more likely to be satisfied and to have high morale. They did not, however, find any signficant relationship between productivity and type of supervision.

These results suggest, first of all, that the effect of supervisory style may depend upon the type of people supervised. Permissive supervision may work very well for a group of relatively educated and intelligent clerical workers, but it may be relatively ineffective for a group of railway section hands. A second conclusion that is suggested by these three studies is that the effect of permissive supervision on job satisfaction may be greater than its effect on productivity. In general, employees who are supervised in a permissive manner are going to be satisfied employees. It is not quite so clear that they will always be productive.

We have been interested in studying supervisory style here at the Center. While we are not yet ready to measure productivity in Extension, we have attempted to measure supervisory style. We have been interested, also, in relating organizational characteristics to supervisory style. Lavery (1962) (17) developed a forced-choice questionnaire to measure the permissive-restrictive dimension, the employee-program dimension and a third which we felt was relevant in Extension, a public versus internal orientation dimension. Forty-seven out of the fifty State Direcors kindly completed the questionnaire to give us measures of the administrative style of the top executives in all but three of the state Extension Services.

We found, not very surprisingly, that Directors rather consistently regarded themselves as more permissive and more employee-oriented than they were considered to be by their immediate subordinates. We also found that the larger the staff, the more permissive was the Director. This is not surprising, of course, since the more people one must supervise, the less time can be spent looking over the shoulder of each individual. Somewhat paradoxically, however, we found that, in the states with the larger staffs, the Directors were more employee-oriented and more public relations oriented. Perhaps the Director who spends more time away from the office dealing with legislators and outside agencies is regarded as being more permissive. Since he leaves his staff alone, he is regarded as being more employee-oriented than the stay-at-home Director who is primarily concerned with the internal workings of his organization.

Another organizational characteristic which Lavery investigated was the percent of toal staff classified as administrative and supervisory. Directors with a high percent of administrative and supervisory personnel on their staffs were considered more program-oriented and less employee-oriented. The implication is that the Director with the larger administrative staff is more concerned with program development while the Director with a smaller staff of administrators is more concerned with people.

Lavery also borrowed a sample from a study being done by Merle Howes of Massachusetts which was concerned with the effects of decentralization on Extension organization. Using Howes' measure, Lavery compared decentralization with the employee progam-centered dimension, the permissive-restrictive dimension and the public relations-internal dimension. All three measures were positively correlated with the measure of decentralization, but only in the case of the last one, public relations orientation, was the correlation significant. These findings suggest that the Director in a decentralized organization spends more time working with the public, possibly mending his political fences.

Herzberg and associates (1957) (12) in an extensive study of job attitudes, concluded that the employee-centered supervisor generally had more satisfied and productive employees. They collected from the literature a number of opinions of what it was that made an employee-centered supervisor, and suggested the following contributing factors:

(1) sympathy with employees with respect to both work and personal problems; (2) being careful to share information with employees; (3) avoiding excessive criticism of employees; (4) being willing to help employees with their work while maintaining a leadership position; (5) encouraging increased decision making by employees; (6) maintaining a consistency in giving orders and administering discipline; (7) keeping employees in-

formed of their job performance; (8) giving general rather than close supervision; and (9) maintaining a reasonable degree of social interaction with employees.

From this brief look at the effects of supervisory techniques, I think we may safely conclude that the behavior of the supervisor does have significant effects on the output of employees and the type of organization which develops. There is some reason to suspect that the effect of permissive supervision on job satisfaction is greater than its effect on productivity. It is not quite so clear what the effect of type of supervision may be on the reactions of the organization under stress. However, the influence of the supervisor is felt both directly in its effect on the behavior of employees and indirectly through its effect on the structure of the organization, both formal and informal.

GROUPS

The study of the influence of groups on performance is relatively new. Beginning with the work of Kurt Lewin at the University of Iowa, the study of group dynamics has become a major concern of social psychology. Although interest in group dynamics is a contribution of American psychology, two European immigrants actually started this work in the United States. As was Lewin, J. L. Moreno was an immigrant to this country; his interest in role playing began in a psychotherapeutic setting and was later transferred to the training of industrial groups. We are indebted to Moreno not only for the concept of role playing but also for the concept of sociometry, a technique for analyzing first graphically and then mathematically the kinds of interrelationships which develop among members of groups.

Norman Maier of the University of Michigan was one of the first to give this approach a specific industrial emphasis. Maier (1953) (20) concluded from his studies of group decision making that group decisions were superior to individual decisions in three main ways:

(1) the quality of group decisions was superior to that of individual decisions; (2) the level of aspiration of a group was higher than the level of aspiration which supervisors felt they could impose on the group; and (3) group understanding and acceptance of decisions was higher when the decisions were made by the group. Bavelas (1950) (5) directed attention to the effect of group structure on the effectiveness of communications.

In one of the first industrial applications of group dynamics, Coch and French (1948) (8) investigated the effect of productivity of different degrees of participation in the decision-making process. In their study three groups were equated for productivity before the introduction of a change in work methods. One of the groups was then presented with the changed method without being consulted, the second group was involved in a moderate degree of participation in the change, and the third group was involved as fully as possible.

In the no-participation group, production dropped after the change, turnover rose, and the relearning process was slow. The group with maximum participation showed a 15 per cent production increase after change-over. An automatic weaving plant in India was studied by Rice (1953). (23) In this study the initial effect of reorganization was a significant drop in production. However, after the workers themselves were involved in the reorganization process, production increased and this effect appeared to be relatively permanent.

Lorge and others (1958) (19) in an extensive survey of the effects of groups on performance conclude:

> "In general in the evaluation of the relative quality of the products produced by groups, in contrast to those produced by individuals, the group is superior . . . Yet it must be recognized that group procedures may have disadvantages too. A single member or a coalition of members may retard the group by holding out for its kind of solution—a consequence that may reduce the quality of the group-product if the solutions so proposed are inadequate or unrealistic."

In an era where "group thinking" is all too common, Lorge's reservations deserve attention. Undoubtedly it is important to distinguish the kinds of work being done—whereas a Thomas A. Edison may be far more creative working alone as an individual, the work of a nuclear laboratory may be essentially a group-type of activity. Thus, we first need to ask: Is the nature of the task one which is appropriate to group solution? The effect of a group's attempt to write a poem is almost too horrible to contemplate; on the other hand, the solution to a complex problem may necessarily require the pooling of a variety of talents.

We need also to consider the problem of optimum group size. In a study of air controllers done by Kidd (1961), (16) smaller work groups were found to be more efficient than larger groups. Furthermore, the groups were found to be more effective when coordination requirements were kept to a minimum. Clegg

(1961) (7) in a sociometric study of county Extension workers in two states reached a similar conclusion with respect to Extension organization. He found in general that the smaller county units showed greater organizational acceptance—that is, greater agreement between the formal and informal structures. One notable exception to this was in the very small units where a single woman worker was assigned. There was higher satisfaction in those county organizations where at least two women were employed.

We can now begin to specify some of the conditions under which group performance is superior to individual performance. The most obvious justification for group action occurs when individual capacity is simply not adequate to do a job. Second, group performance will be superior to individual performance in those cases where specialized capacities are needed.

This illustrates a fundamental problem in Extension organization where today more and more farmers are specializing, are better educated, and therefore have qualifications which are similar to those of many of the Extension workers who serve them. The need then arises to consider larger organizational units which will provide a more specialized kind of service, and in this type of setting the traditional division of labor by county lines may serve as a strait-jacket preventing the kind of service which is needed by the modern farmer.

A third way in which groups are useful is to combat monotony. This is especially evident in routine industrial tasks, but monotony may also be a problem in relatively skilled types of work.

Fourth, groups inhance individual performance through the process of social facilitation. In many ways we do better simply because we are working side by side with other people and their efforts tend to reinforce ours.

Fifth, groups may serve to increase competition and increase individual effort. Studies of competition suggest, however, that this effect is double edged—whereas for the superior worker it may stimulate greater output for the average or below average worker, it may, on the other hand, induce frustration and ultimately reduce output.

Sixth, groups may enhance individual performance by what may be called a "pooling effect". By involving a number of people in the decision-making process, the problem is seen from more points of view, more solutions are proposed, and the proposed solutions are tested by a greater variety of criteria. This effect, too, is double-edged.

In a study of work groups under incentive pay by Whyte (1955), (31) it was shown that restriction of output resulted from a group decision-making process. Furthermore, Whyte points out that the degree of group solidarity is related to the effectiveness with which output is restricted. Thus, a strong work group may further the aims of the organization, or it may result in frustration of those aims.

One further caution is needed in evaluating the effects of groups on organizational and individual output. A number of studies have contrasted the effectiveness of groups operating under various kinds of leadership and have made it evident that the type of group involvement is critical. A group which is gathered together merely to act as a rubber stamp will not be an effective group. At the other extreme, group planning and decision making, unless made effective by leadership and adequate organization, will result in confusion and conflict. Effective utilization of work groups thus involves decision as to the points at which group involvement will be productive, the kinds and amounts of group involvement needed, and the size and qualifications of the groups to be utilized.

ORGANIZATION

Enduring groups always have structure. This is true whether or not that structure is motivated by a common purpose. In the barnyard, pecking order is established among the chickens. However, if the territory is too large, the pecking order breaks down and several territories, each with a pecking order, emerge. Even the barnyard thus undergoes a degree of decentralization when the size of the group becomes unmanageable. Structure becomes an increasingly critical variable when there is a collective purpose. Adam Smith, at the dawn of the industrial revolution, described with a note of wonderment the vastly increased productive capacity of a pin factory in which there was specialization of functions. Smith's pin factory was a comparatively simple organization when contrasted with the modern industrial or governmental bureaucracies—and the modern bureaucracy is itself usually a far more complex thing than its standard organization charts would indicate.

The efficiency of various kinds of communication patterns was studied by Bavelas (1950) (5) and by a number of later writers using his techniques. Bavelas described group structure in terms of wheel, circle and net types of design. In a laboratory study he introduced various communications to these types of groups and studied the efficiency with which communication was carried out. Bavelas's wheel-type of organization most nearly resembles the typical hierarchical structure found in the standard organization chart. The net-type of structure is that most commonly seen in groups where all communication is handled on an informal basis. The circle-type of comunication resembles the system found in a prison cell block or an assembly line. Of the three, Bavelas found that the wheeltype of communication was most efficient; the net-type of communication, besides its comparative lack of efficiency, also involved far more communication about group structure.

More recently an attempt has been made to study group interaction from the standpoint of the theory of linkage. Dubin (1959) (9) advances the hypothesis that the stability of membership in a group is inversely proportional to the number of interactions required of the group member. Thus, the individual in a strictly hierarchical organization with only one upward link and perhaps half a dozen downward links is relatively content. On the other hand, according to Dubin's theory, in a complex organization in which linkages are both horizontal and vertical and exist in large numbers, the pressure on the individual to leave the organization becomes substantial.

This idea has considerable relevance for Extension, particularly those organizations in which the linkage patterns are highly complex. Many a county agent, for example, may have to answer to the Farm Bureau, the County Agricultural Committee, the individual clientele of the county, his superiors in the state office, the specialists and various functional supervisors who compose a typical Extension organization. To the extent, therefore, that relating himself effectively to the organization involves many different kinds of contacts, the ease with which this relationship is maintained is greatly reduced. Intuitive evidence to support Dubin's theory might be gained from examining the things we think of when we receive an offer which would involve a change of jobs. I suspect that most of us in weighing the advantages of a change think, subconsciously at least, of all the committees and other collateral duties that we can drop when we start a new job with a clean slate. Perhaps one of the functions of a good adminisrator is to minimize the number and variety of demands made upon the members of his organization.

Another way of thinking of the organization of groups is in terms of the multi-dimensional sociometric survey Tannenbaum *et al*, 1961 (28). Nearly everyone is familiar with the idea that there exist two parallel organizations within any complex group, the formal and the informal. Less familiar is the notion that there is also a type of organization that might be called non-formal. This is neither the formal type of hierarchical structure that we see in the typical organization chart, nor is it the kind of interpersonal relationships represented by a typical sociometric diagram. Rather, it represents the emergence or creation, by the group, of intermediate structures which supplement the formal organization and which may be eventual additions to the formal organization.

For example, in the study by Clegg (1961) of the structure of two state Extension Services, it was found that the position of the county chairman was evolving into an intermediate level in the formal organization, despite the fact that no formal authority had been delegated to the county chairman. According to the formal organization, the direct line of responsibility ran from the district supervisor to each individual member of the county organization.

However, it became clear in this study and in an earlier one of Ross's (1960), (24) that because of the geographic separation of the supervisor, because of the wide span of supervision involved, and because of the fact that the supervisor was frequently not available or not easily accessible when decisions had to be referred upward, an intermediate position was evolving. Although, in both of the states concerned, a staff type of responsibility had already been assigned to the county chairman, no line authority had been given him. Yet the nature of his position, his accessibility, and the problem of making decisions against a time pressure had led to the referral of a large number of decisions to the county chairman. If anything defines line authority in an operational way, it is the referral of decisions to a given person. In this sense, then, the county chairman occupies an intermediate position in the non-formal organization which, I suspect, will be formalized in due time and will appear in the typical organization chart.

The concept of formal organization as a rational bureaucracy has much to recommend it. Nevertheless, it becomes increasingly evident to students of organization that the bureaucratic model of Max Weber (1946) is insufficient to describe adequately formal complex organizations. Many organizations when tested against the internal logic of the bureaucratic model fall short, first because the bureaucratic model assumes some sort of economic man or rational man who is not disposed to resist the restrictions which formal organizations impose upon him.

The second difficulty with the bureaucratic model is that organizations exist in a total environment and environmental demands have to be satisfied, often even when they violate the internal logic of the organization. A good illustration of this would be the tenacity with which Extension organization follows county lines, although in many cases it is evident that the county pattern of organization is irrational and inefficient.

Illustrations of the ways in which rational organizations may violate psychological principles can be found in numerous industrial studies; these studies indicate that the bureaucratic ideal of specialization of function can be carried to too great an extreme. The individual worker whose job is too specialized or whose work cycle is too short and repetitive may, in spite of the theoretical efficiency of such division of labor, be less productive because he is not able to adjust mentally to the demands of the job. Perhaps Weber had these difficulties in mind when he said that the concept of a rational bureaucracy was really that of an ideal type which was only approximated in existing organizations.

Extension also faces another problem which has been studied in various organizations, the problem of centralization versus decentralization. This problem is especially important in Extension because of the wide geographical dispersal of the members of the organization. During the depression years a study was made of Sears Roebuck & Company. It was found that there were two types of retail stores in the Sears structure, those with a relatively narrow span and those with a relatively broad span of supervision. In the narrow-span types of organizations, a few department heads reported to a single store manager and each department head in turn supervised a number of section heads.

In the wide-span type of organization, the section heads were directly supervised by a single store manager, and perhaps as many as 20 people reported to a single manager. The decentralization of authority in the wide-span organization had several advantages: first, the stores with the wide-span type of organization were generally more efficient; and second, they were the stores from which the best future store managers came.

It should be noted now that we are talking not about first line supervisors but about second or third line supervisors. This is similar to the situation in Extension where the second line supervisor, the director or associate director, supervises only four district supervisors. The first line supervisor, then, in turn may supervise as many as 80 or even more operative or production employees, if I may be permitted to refer to the county personnel by that term. This is the typical picture. However, in some organizations, notably Massachusetts, as an example, a great deal of decentralization has taken place and to a very great degree power resides in the counties rather than in the central office.

This, however, is not decentralization in the same sense that the Sears supervisory authority was decentralized. Authority in Massachusetts is essentially political in nature, being derived from the counties and in a sense flowing upward, whereas in the Sears type of decentralization authority was actually delegated downward. It is likely that the Massachusetts type of organization has problems of its own but that these problems are not necessarily typical of a decentralized organization.

Merle Howes is now engaged in a study which, hopefully, will throw some light on the effect of this type of decentralization on turnover, staff quality and organizational stability. It may well be that the Massachusetts type of decentralization is not beneficial. I think many of us would suspect that this is the case. This will not, however, negate the findings of the Sears study and other similar studies as to the advantages of a decentralized bureaucratic type of organization structure.

The level at which decisions are made was varied systematically in a study by Morse and Reimer (1956) (22). In general decentralization improved the attitude of the rank and file employees toward their immediate supervisor, but the effect on production was not so clear: production was increased when the level of decision making was lowered, but it was increased still more when the level was raised. This is another instance of the earlier suggestion that job satisfaction and productivity are not necessarily directly related.

The foregoing studies and comments are suggestive of a need to restudy extensively the organization structure of Extension and the impact which this structure has on the individual. We are far from having answers to all of the problems. However, it is evident that to the extent that Extension has been shaped by tradition, by political considerations and by historical and geographical accidents, the efficiency of its organization and its impact on the individual can be progressively increased as we gain further understanding of the effect of organizational structure upon group performance.

MOTIVATION[*]

Interest in employee motivation has continued high, as the number of articles published on this subject in the last few years attests. Interest in financial incentives, of course, goes back to the early days of the scientific management movement, but the advocates of financial incentives in the early 1900's were not interested in studying motivation—they assumed an economic man who was primarily motivated by money.

Articles by Likert (1959 (18) and McDermid (1960) (21) point out that money has motivational value only as it satisfies a worker's needs. McDermid also goes on to show that motivation rests on a need-hierarchy and that other needs may take priority over those which are served by financial incentives. Classic illustrations of this are found in W. F. Whyte's (1955) book, *Money and Motivation*. In two case studies he shows how imperfectly the production of groups of workers is related to their incentive pay. Previous work experience, attitude toward the time study man, and the need to vary the routine may all play a part. He also describes a number of ingenious methods that the workers invented to beat the quotas—methods which put to shame the creative artistry of college students at exam time.

Whyte also relates the effects of incentive pay to the social and economic backgrounds of the workers. His "ratebusters" in one study were more often farm boys reared by strict parents, asocial, poor givers, Protestants, and Republicans. His "restricters" were more likely to be the children of unskilled workers, city boys who were members of the neighborhood gang, joiners as adults, givers, Catholics, and Democrats. The details of the portrait will surely vary with time and place but the moral is plain: incentive pay will affect different kinds of people differently. If money is of value only as it satisfies needs and if those needs which stand at the upper end of a need hierarchy are most important, then the starting point of a study of employee motivation is the question, "what do employees want?"

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[*] Portions of this section are taken from the author's monograph: *Individual Performance and Corporate Purpose*, Wis. Comm. Reports Vol. VI, No. 4, Mar. 1962, Bureau of Business Research and Service, Univ. of Wis. Madison, Wis.

Motivation is based on needs but, indeed, need and satisfaction are opposites. If a man is satisfied he no longer has a need; if he needs he is not satisfied. We are thus concerned not with needs alone nor with incentives alone, but with maintaining some kind of a state of equilibrium between them. Schwitzgebel (1960) (25) and Bass (1960) (4), taking their cue from the animal laboratories, suggest that partial re-enforcement may be more effective than total re-enforcement for people as well as for rats. Regular and complete need satisfaction may have less influence on performance than irregular or partial rewards.

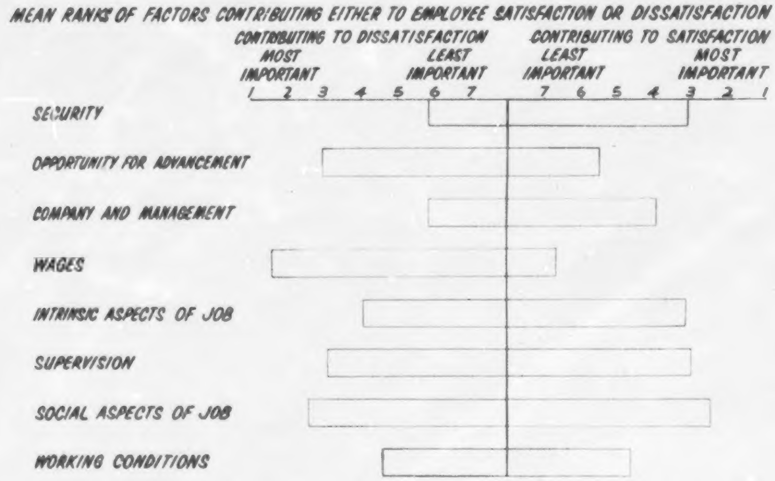
The realization that need-perpetuation rather than need-satisfaction may be the prime motivational responsibility of management is reflected in several recent books (see Argyris, 1960, (2) and McGregor, 1960) emphasizing self-actualization. If they are right, then continuing and incompletely satisfied needs are the best motivators. Evidence to support this point of view has been accumulating since the pioneering article by Coch and French (1948) on overcoming resistance to change. The Michigan studies by Katz *et al.* (1950) at Prudential showed that high producers had more pride in their work (a continuing need) and were more critical (evidence of unsatisfied needs) than low producers; low producers, on the other hand, participated more in recreation and athletic programs (need-satisfiers).

Herzberg *et al.* (1957) (12) in a survey of about a thousand studies (1,796 listings, some overlapping) of job attitudes conclude that "the best psychological state for full utilization of human resources is one of dissatisfaction sufficient to provide motivation for intense activity, yet not enough to make the worker want to quit his job." (p. 102)

The Herzberg study found numerous relationships between job attitudes and performance. The results of some of Herzberg's findings as to the relative importance of certain attitudes are summarized in Figure 3. Stogdill's (1959) (26) classification of motives as bearing separately on productivity, morale and organizational stability and some of the discussion earlier in this section make it clear that not all of these job attitudes are necessarily associated directly with productivity. All may be thought of as having some bearing, however, on performance broadly conceived. Bass (1960) puts it somewhat differently, stating that task goals are often irrelevant to the need satisfaction of the worker–keeping his job is relevant; producing is not.

In later research, Herzberg *et al.* (1959 (13) undertook an extensive interview study of accountants and engineers in a number of companies in order to test some of their conclusions under controlled conditions. Figure 4 summarizes some of their results. Several conclusions of importance can be drawn from it. First of all, certain factors in the work setting may be much more likely to influence attitudes in one direction than another. Second, certain kinds of attitudes produce long range influences and others produce only short range influences. Third, a given factor may have long range influences in one direction and comparatively short range influences in another.

Figure 3



Reproduced by permission from Hersberg et al: *Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion*, 1957, Psychological Service of Pittsburgh.

As part of the interviews the investigators asked each respondent to indicate any effect which the incidents they described may have had on their performance. They concluded that 60 per cent of the sequences described did affect performance in the expected direction. Favorable attitudes were more likely to affect performance than unfavorable (73 per cent vs. 48 per cent). The long-lasting, favorable sequences were most likely to lead to improved performance; the long-lasting, unfavorable sequences were more apt to lead to quitting. They also concluded that the satisfiers were more likely to relate to work itself while the dissatisfiers tended to arise out of work environment. Salary, they felt, was mainly important as a symbol of fairness.

The question arises as to how general may be the application of these results. Some light is shed on the question in the comparison between the accountants and the engineers. In general, Herzberg found that the dissatisfiers did not differentiate but that some of the satisfiers did. Accountants were more often affected by incidents involving advancement and possible growth; engineers were more affected by those involving responsibility and the work itself. This agrees with the findings of a study by Strother *et al.* (1962 (27) which found that graduating seniors in engineering were attracted relatively more by benefits associated with their profession and business students more by opportunities for advancement.

We have devoted special attention to the foregoing investigation because it represents a trend toward a more analytic approach to the relationship between motivation and performance. The review of research by Herzberg (1957) had been dominated by data on operative employees and many of the studies surveyed went back to Depression and pre-Depression years. Security, broadly defined, ranked high among motivators. Recently, more studies and articles have been published on white-collar personnel and aspirants for whom risk and opportunities for advancement ranked higher.

The motivational problems of special groups have received increasing attention in recent years. Several studies of older workers have been undertaken at the University of Wisconsin. In one of these (Johnson and Strother, 1962) (14) a rather abrupt decrease in expectations of advancement was found to occur in the forties (mid forties for factory and late forties for office workers). This change occurs at a time when these employees

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still believe that their peak job ability is either at hand or still to be reached. This suggests that the decline in performance which has sometimes been reported for older workers may be in part the result of failure to consider the special motivational problems of older employees.

Although most of the studies of motivation have been done in industrial settings, their application to Extension is considerable. This is confirmed by studies such as that by Margaret Browne (1959) (6) who interviewed middle management Extension personnel. The interviews were open-ended and the respondents were free to indicate their feelings without being guided too much by specific questions. It is interesting that salary was mentioned spontaneously by less than half of this group. In general, the state leaders were satisfied with their salaries and about two-thirds of the home economics and agriculture leaders were satisfied with their salaries, but only about one-fourth of the 4-H supervisors were satisfied with their salaries. There was general agreement that the dissatisfaction was more frequently concerned with feelings about fairness than with absolute dollar amounts.

Major sources of satisfaction were: (1) the feeling of status in the field, (2) a sense of responsibility, (3) the learning opportunities afforded in Extension work, (4) the nature of the work itself, and (5) the social contacts of the job.

Major sources of dissatisfaction were: (1) the disparity between prestige in the field and the feeling of a lack of status on campus, (2) a feeling of lack of involvement in the decision-making process, (3) lack of authority commensurate with the responsibilities of the job, (4) the need for constructive criticism which was not given frequently enough, (5) poor communications, and (6) the feeling that many of the jobs were dead-end with little expectation for future promotion. This last was not always a source of dissatisfaction, however. As in the study by Johnson and Strother, many middle management people had ceased to aspire to advancement and were content to serve out their remaining working years in their current jobs. One wonders, however, if one of the very powerful motivators was not, therefore, missing from the job.

In summary, the findings concerning motivation seem to provide three important suggestions: (1) a good system of incentives must recognize the fact that certain needs are more important than others and therefore serve as more effective motivators, (2) motivation does not always operate along a single dimension —certain motives may influence productivity, others job satisfaction, and still others the degree of commitment which the individual has to the organization; (3) motives may operate in either a positive or a negative direction—certain kinds of motivation have to do primarily with job satisfaction, other kinds of motivation are largely negative and produce dissatisfaction.

For example, dirty wash-rooms in an industrial setting may produce dissatisfaction, but ultra-sterile wash-rooms will produce no more satisfaction than will adequately kept ones. Likewise, in an Extension setting, lack of a telephone might produce dissatisfaction, but having two telephones instead of one will hardly increase the amount of job satisfaction which a staff member has; (4) finally, those motives which have to do with achievement, recognition and self-actualization are the powerful ones in producing a productive and committed staff.

CONFLICT

We have seen that the important motives are the ones which are not routinely satisfied. The motivational state which is desirable from the standpoint of a productive organization is one in which there is what we might call optimal dissatisfaction. Certain motives in particular meet this requirement: for example, recognition, achievement and self-actualization. If, on the other hand, there is a persistent blocking of motives and a state of chronic dissatisfaction, this leads to frustration. When an employee is faced with a persistent blocking of his need satisfaction, he may attempt a rational approach to the problem, increasing the variability of his behavior through trial and error and the kind of rational problem-solving that frequently leads to insightful solutions. However, if either the dissatisfaction itself is exceptionally persistent, or if the problem-solving techniques available to the individual are deficient, ultimately an irrational non-adaptive "solution" will be selected.

There are three main characteristics which distinguish irrational from the rational problem-solving behavior: (1) Stereotypic, non-adjustive behavior tends to become fixed and repetitive and even though a given approach to the problem has not resulted in success, the individual will repeat that response again and again without satisfaction or solution to the problem.

(2) The responses which arise from irrational tension-reducing activity are themselves usually non-adjustive. They may succeed in reducing tension, but they are not the kinds of behavior that will normally lead to problem solution. In every day speech, we may describe this kind of behavior as beating one's head up against a stone wall. (3) Also characteristic of an irrational type of problem-oriented behavior is an increasing amount of self-centeredness on the part of the individual. He loses his ability to see the problem from the perspective of other people and all his attempts at evaluation have a self-reference. "Why don't people give me more breaks?" "Why does everybody have it in for me?" "Why does my boss give other people all the breaks?"

We can usually recognize non-adjustive, problem-oriented behavior because in general it tends to take one of four major forms. We shall call these four forms escape, attack, inferiority and tension.

In the escape reaction, the individual attempts to reduce tension by withdrawing from the problem situation. He may do this physically through quitting or absenteeism, or he may do it psychologically through apathy or excessive day dreaming. Most of us are familiar with the story of the secret life of Walter Mitty, a much down-trodden and frustrated man, who was able to escape from his life of desperation into a rich and satisfying world of dreams.

In the attack type of reaction, turning his frustrations outward so to speak, the individual may be obviously over-aggressive or his attack reaction may take the form of being overly critical of others or excessively defensive.

In the inferiority type of reaction, the frustrations are turned inward upon the individual himself. This type of reaction often disguises itself in forms which are not easy to recognize. The extremely busy person is often defending himself against a feeling of inadequacy. Robert Louis Stevenson put it very nicely in a little essay called "An Apology for Idlers" when he said, "Extreme busy-ness . . . is a sign of deficient vitality." The individual suffering from feelings of inferiority may be excessively moody. He may also at times be the office practical joker, because people who are moody often defend themselves against depression by being overly elated and overly active. Or, he may be an extremely sensitive person responding excessively to criticism.

In a pathological extreme, the escape reaction may result in an acute type of withdrawal, called schizophrenia, and the inferiority reaction may culminate in a manic-depressive or paranoid psychosis. The psychiatric extremes are, of course, far rarer than the every-day reactions of relatively normal individuals.

Finally, if we are not able to discharge the aroused tensions by either escape, attack, or the kind of self-punishment called inferiority, excessive levels of tension build up. This may show up in such relatively simple ways as smoking too much or drinking too much; it may also show up in the form of explosive behavior, violent temper tantrums, quarreling, and so forth; or it may show up in psychosomatic disturbances—peptic ulcers, hypertension, and even hay fever and asthma are conditions which are aggravated by excessive loads of tension. So common is this type of reaction that the psychosomatic illnesses are almost the badge of middle management personnel who, even more than the top management and the first line workers, are the victims of this type of illness.

As Argyris has emphasized (1960), the organization itself may be the strait-jacket which produces frustration in the individual. On the other hand, it may be that lack of need satisfaction arises, not from the structure of the organization itself but from the behavior of one's immediate superiors, the total pattern of interaction within the organization and without, or the transposition of frustrations from other non-work connected settings. In any case, conflict-oriented behavior is characterized by a high input-low output formula which spells inefficiency. Furthermore, conflict-oriented behavior is self-perpetuating. The feelings of frustration which interfere with work, themselves give rise to added feelings of frustration and these, in turn, further affect work. Thus the conflict-oriented employee finds himself on a psychic merry-go-round unable to get off.

HARMONY

Just as high input and low output are characteristic of the ineffective organization, the effective organization is characterized by high input and high output. In the foregoing report we have been looking at organizations in terms of their impact on the individual and the individual's performance. By way of summary we may say that there are six characteristics of an effective organization from the view point of individual performance.

1. Output is measured in terms of stated and valid objectives.
2. Supervisors attempt to delegate and decentralize to the highest extent possible with the personnel available. Their control over the performance of individuals then becomes a matter of "management by objectives" as McGregor puts it.
3. Groups and individuals are both seen as means to goal achievement. Individual effort and individual performance are recognized and rewarded, but cooperative effort through groups is seen as a highly significant means of reinforcing the individual effort. The organization which emphasizes either the role of the individual or the role of the group at the expense of the other is apt to be unbalanced.
4. Organization is best conceived of as a series of interlocking groups and the executive is seen as a communicating link between groups.
5. Positive motives relating to achievement and self-actualization are emphasized in a balanced proportion to the primarily negative and passive types of motivation.
6. The effective executive recognizes signs of conflict, determines sources and takes corrective action before the conflict becomes chronic.

There is no magic formula for achieving optimal individual performance. The picture that behavioral research has developed is by no means complete. Furthermore, many successful executives, guided by their own intuitions, have long been practicing the principles which behavioral science is rediscovering. But intuition is at best a fallible guide and subjective certainty often is as high when wrong as when right. Therefore, it is the hope of behavioral scientists that intuition and natural aptitude can be supplemented in a meaningful way by the findings of behavioral research.

Behavioral research will never raise organizati[illegible]om the dead, nor restore moribund organizations to good health. It will be most helpful in the case of relatively successful administrators of relatively successful organizations who are desirous of making good organizations still better by drawing on our growing knowledge of organizational behavior.

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The Individual and the Organization

ELBERT W. BURR
Personnel Manager, Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis, Missouri

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I WELL REMEMBER visits of county agents to the farm where I worked summers while in high school. I poured over the pamphlets outlining improved farm practices. I recall farmers arguing the merits of certain patterns of rotation and the value of chemical fertilizers.

It dawned on me that the farms I knew had, in many parts of the country, now been supplanted by large acreage, mechanized, professionally managed business. I assumed, too, the need now was of more sophisticated extension service than my farmer uncle required.

After a little research, I discovered that in 1961 there were 14,645 Extension agents in the United States, that this number had remained relatively constant since 1957, that the number of farm workers had in this period dropped off from 7,600,000 to 7,100,000.

I read reports that spoke of the need to divert resources from the present programs in agricultural education, research, and extension to deveolpment efforts in industries with more growth potential. One individual made the global statement that "all agricultural overhead organizations, including general farm organizations, the Extension Service, rural churches, vocational agriculture teaching in high schools, and so on, are faced with adjustments and most of them hate to grapple with the task".

In discussions with people I heard mention made of some of the problems you face—1) the limitations upon your freedom to act due to the bureaucratic nature of your organizations and the reference groups which you must consider in your planning, 2) the conflict over education versus the promotion of innovation and even new products, 3) the lack of time and resources to do adequate planning and implementation research and 4) the determination of valid and useful long range objectives.

Despite these problems, it seems to me the ability to adapt to changing needs in extension—or in any form of community service—is abundantly present in those of you who are here and I am optimistic that you are grappling successfully with each of them.

In doing so, however, you are undoubtedly finding yourselves, in a greater degree than ever before, concerned about the individual subordinates who work with you and with their relationships to the organization. Whenever major changes occur in the purpose, the objectives, or the sense of the mission in a work group, special efforts by managers are required to listen to individual questions and concerns, to work to overcome resistance to change, and to cultivate good morale.

Even though change were not taking place in the Extension Service or in industry, major trends in our society have already altered the relationship of the individual and the organization. The sheer fact of bigness in organizations has contributed to a steady devaluation of the significance of the individual contributor. Mechanization—on the farm as well as in the factory and office—has often seemed to put the worker into the same category as the machine. Despite these problems, the sweep of technology is virtually irresistible. Managers are left with little choice but to use it effectively or to be pushed aside by it. Management itself is in many ways—thanks to electronic computers and the application of mathematics, physics and new communication resources—passing from the realm of individual art to a state of impersonal, quantitative measurability,.

In the community we see evidence at every hand of the diminution of individuality by the increasingly complex social system in which we live. This is evident in the pressure to become organized—to work through committees, to choose a chairman, to pass the gavel, and to make it possible for the many to heap responsibility for the completion of projects on the few. As Holly Whyte puts it in his description of "The Organization Man"[1]

> "Organization life being what it is, out of sheer necessity he (and might I add parenthetically you and me?) must spend most of his working hours in one group or another and out of self-defense, if not instinct, the committee arts must become reflex with him. But more than necessity is involved. Where the immersion of the individual used to be cause for grumbling and a feeling of independce lost, the organization man of today is now welcoming it."

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[1] Whyte, Wm. H., *The Organization Man* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956 429 pp.—page 47. Reprinted by permission of publisher.

In our political and economic system there is evidence that individuals who seek to assert themselves, to challenge or seize leadership are increasingly few in number in proportion to the large numbers of members of these groups. And those who are so inclined find it increasingly difficult to move into important positions in the labor movement, in political parties, in trade associations. The internal "politics" of organizations—including the church—has apparently contributed to the apathy which many people feel toward assuming leadership or asserting individuality. Individuals are often criticized by their fellows when they undertake to assume even a limited leadership position.

Examples of this surrender to the pressure for group approval are all about us. Subordinates dare not incur the wrath of the work group by suggesting innovations to the boss which might improve the efficiency of departmental operations. Managers avoid the possibility of hostility from the work group by refusing to be direct and specific in criticisms of the poor individual performance. The teenager does not want his parents to complain about the inadequacies of the school lest fellow pupils penalize him by unfortunate social pressures.

Perhaps of even more concern is our own unwillingness to stand up and be counted—at work, in the community, in the religious councils of our faith, in current controversy—be it Mr. Kennedy's dealings with the steel industry or the conflict between the so-called far right and those who dare to speak their beliefs in the essential role of the United Nations, the significance of aiding needy peoples around the world from our reserves of agricultural products, and a belief in the brotherhood of man.

Although I know it has no basis in scientific research, I can't resist speculating that our affluent society is so potentially destructive of individual motivation and initiative that it may yet bring our downfall. To an increasing degree, the thrill of individual achievement is lost in the limited nature of the individual's specific contribution and the growing emphasis on the productivity of the task force, the committee, the shift or the department. Affluence and automation seem to limit our incentive to assume full individual responsibility for economic wellbeing. We seem to be losing the stimulation to maximum contribution that can come from pride of craftsmanship, pride in achieving a production goal, pride in making a sale, or, in the case of many of you, pride in introducing innovation and overcoming resistance to change in the areas of improving agricultural practices. But does it have to be this way? I think not.

We manage organizations into which have been drawn men and women of ability and promise. They are, at least initially, committed to giving of their best efforts to the achievement of the organization's objectives through working effectively in an economic and social environment in which functions are increasingly specialized; in which the use of machines and procedures often limits the individual's sense of contribution; in which the achievements of the group are often more easily identified and praised (or penalized) than the contributions of a single person; in a situation in which the individual all too frequently seems to lose his precious identity.

For us to be successful as managers we need to discover the keys to unlocking the best contributions from each of our people within this difficult environment of affluence and automation. What makes Sammy—or Mary or Tom—run in 1962's world? What must be our management tactics if we are to strike the spark of motivation in each and every employe? As a partial answer, I would like to explore four questions. You may find it helpful to pose these to yourself each day to test the effectiveness of your supervision of your subordinates (and perhaps superiors).

Four Questions to Explore

First—*what do you expect?* It is here that your own knowledge of your subordinate's job—its demands and responsibilities—is important. Equally so is your decision, based on your own greater sense of the mission and your own value system, of what you want him to do. What constitutes his success in doing the job you have entrusted to him? It is important, too, to be aware of the congruency of his and your value system. When these persist in being incongruent, it is highly probable that you never will be successful in communicating to him a clear understanding of what you expect of him.

There are those students of organization who conclude that the formal organizational principles make demands of individuals which are incongruent with their basic needs. These researchers feel that the conflict, failure, and short range perspectives of subordinates are a result of this basic incongruency. It is further suggested that the formal organization causes employes to feel dependent, submissive, and passive. As a result of requiring them to utilize only a relatively limited number of their skills and abilities they become difficult to manage.[2]

There are "practitioners", and I include myself among them, who feel that if managers concern themselves with the design and structure of the individual job and with communicating to the subordinate his place in the scheme of things in the organization the demands made on individuals may be more congruent with their basic needs that would otherwise seem possible.

From an operational point of view, acceptance of this analysis makes it essential that you and he have agreed on a job description (in fairly detailed fashion); that you have set mutually acceptable (or at best understood) objectives for performance; that you and he are agreed on the measures you will apply to his performance to determine the degree to which he is meeting your expectations; and that you know his personal objectives and have made an effort with him to relate them to organizational objectives.

This very process itself helps to restore his faith in the uniqueness of his role in the organization and his potential contribution. Talking through of his objectives and the relationship of those to overall organizational objectives ties him more closely into the heart of the organization and frees him to communicate honestly with you. Letting him know in advance the criteria being used to assess the quality of his contribution helps him to periodically respond to the question which every subordinate has in his mind—How *am* I doing?

Another question to ask yourself is—*what am I getting from this individual in the way of performance?* How well does he do the job as outlined? How well does he meet the challenge given him? Is his achievement of sufficient caliber that I can give him more responsibility and expect a greater contribution?

But it is the last two of these questions that bring out the keys to maximizing the individual's opportunity to make a contribution. The first—*"If he isn't doing the job in a way which meets our agreed upon criteria, why not?* This calls for a penetrating analysis of his contribution, his abilities, skills, energy output, adaptability, willingness to work as an individual when required and as a member of the team when that is required, personal characteristics, family, mannerisms, etc. It also calls for an equally penetrating analysis of yourself and the way in which you work with him, the way in which you communicate with him, the way in which you reward or penalize his day by day contributions and the relationship of your value systems.

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[2] Chris Argyris in *Personality and Organization* has an interesting review of research on this problem. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957 292 pp.—pages 54–75.

With this knowledge at hand you are in a position to establish the atmosphere which makes it possible for the individual to contribute of his best with the full knowledge he will gain satisfaction of his own objectives by effective performance.

You are also ready to use all the facilities at your command to help him to overcome those elements of performance which inhibit him from performing to the level of your expectations. As the final question, always ask yourself! *"How can I help him"?* Always remember that *every* subordinate failure is a *supervisory failure* in selection, assignment, training, coaching, etc. Ways of helping on the other hand are legion. They include further education, medical and psychological assistance, coaching, training and retraining, job diversification and enlargement, increased incentive, and the best in communication.

This is obviously an over-simplification of a very complex relationship between superior and subordinates. Yet it is in the constant refinement of that relationship that we will ultimately find new ways to stimulate the motivation of individuals in large organizations.

What concerns me most, however, is the failure of so many organizations to maintain a continuing alert for evidence of symptoms of individual subordinate maladjustments. Too often the situation with a prized individual deteriorates beyond the point of recovery before you and I are aware of it. And no one who desires to be a manager—a director—a supervisor—has *any job* more important than the maintenance of the desire on the part of each of his people to make an important individual contribution.

In our continuing effort to try to preserve the precious quality of the individual we must take time: to study the psychology of human behavior and *believe* what we learn; to appraise our images as they appear to our subordinates; and to do a better self evaluation to determine how different behavior on our part might produce different behavior on their parts. Our sense of individuality—our resourcefulness in motivating independence of action in the face of unfortunate organizational pressures communicates us to our people far more than the things we tell them.

In conclusion may I say that all too frequently the torrents of words about the problems of the individual and the organization obscure certain simple truths. Lest this be the case this time I want to share the following with you.

Dr. Richard Cabot—of Harvard and Boston—a distinguished doctor of medicine as well as a professor of social ethics—wrote a wise and delightful book back in 1914 titled "What Men Live By". What he had to say about the points of a good job—a good vocation for the individual—makes more sense to me than some of what I read in 1962. I quote:[3]

> "In the crude job as we get it there is much rubbish. For work is a very human product. It is no better than we have made it, and even when it is redeemed from brutal drudgery it is apt to be scarred and warped by our own stupidities and our ineptitudes. Out of the rough-hewn masses in which work comes to us, it is our business, it is civilization's business to shape a vocation fit for a man.
>
> "Physical and financial standards determine what we get out of work. But what shall we get in it? Much or little, I answer, according to its fitness or unfitness for our personality.
>
> "Among the points of a good job I shall name seven:
>
> 1) Difficult and crudeness enough to call out our latent powers of mastery.
> 2) Variety so balanced by monotony as to suit the individual's needs.
> 3) A boss since if we are doing the pulling someone else should hold the reins.
> 4) A chance to achieve, to build something and to recognize what we have done.
> 5) A title and a place which is ours.
> 6) Connection with some institution, some firm, or some cause, which we can loyally serve.
> 7) Honorable and pleasant relation with comrades in work.
>
> "Fulfill these conditions and work is one of the best things in life!"

And for each of us engaged in this complex business of bringing about the teamwork so necessary to the organization and at the same time enhancing the creativity of the individual contributor, it might be well to take our common charge from Justice Holmes who said:

> "To see as far as one may and to feel the forces that are behind every detail . . . to hammer out as compact and solid a piece of work as one can . . . to try to make it first rate."

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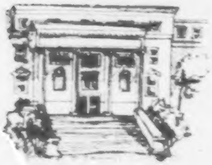
[3] Cabot, Richard C., *What Men Live By*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914, 342 pp.—pages 27 and 28. Reprinted by permission of publisher.

Part III

Organization for Goal Attainment



Organization as a Means for Achieving Extension's Goal

EDWARD GROSS
Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

THOUGHTFUL students of man and society have made use of two quite different models of organization.

One model has seen all organizations as organic unities resembling an ant colony or beehive. Men had their proper places based on natural endowment and training, the whole was greater than its parts, and a natural harmony regulated conflict. Such a structure grew gradually over the years or over the centuries, and the individual in it could clearly do precious little to change it.

The administrator, in such a model, was essentially a curator or caretaker, a person who saw to details, helped repair damage or inevitable wear and tear, but basically had little to do, for the system ran itself in the manner of the classic supply-and-demand economy. The role of the administrator was illustrated in the oft-told story of the French leader who, on seeing a mob surge by, watched for a moment, then excused himself, saying: "I am their leader. I must follow them."

If one were to ask who had created such a self-regulating organization the answer was "God". Hence the man who suggested changing it was not simply revolutionary, he was impious and presumptuous as well.

The second model went to the other extreme. Those who put forth this second model agreed that God had created the world but they insisted He could hardly be held responsible for every drugstore, or every open-pit mine, and not even for the Cooperative Extension Service. God provided the materials and the setting but man was the actor who created his own forms of organization, and must be held accountable for them. To those who use this model of organization—the rational [illegible] decisions model—administrators run organizations and as they make decisions, the organizations change. If the head of an organization does his job well, the organization moves ahead and prospers; if not, it fails. He deserves the credit and the blame alike.

The first, or organic model, clearly assigns a minimal role to the administrator in contrast to the second or rational model which assigns a determining role to him (1).

For a long time in the study of organization, proponents of these two models did battle with each other. Much of the celebrated research on leadership qualities was done by persons who used the rational model. After all, they claimed, if the administrator could accomplish as much as the rational model claimed, then he must clearly be a very remarkable fellow. Hence the search was on for the remarkable qualities by which this fellow might be distinguished.*

Such studies, fascinating as they might be, often contradicted one another until it came to be realized that the approach itself was unsound. These studies begged the question. They were seeking to explain why leaders are such remarkable fellows, and what leadership was. However, they had decided in advance that all persons in high places were automatically leaders. Further, the model takes an extreme position and assigns far too much to administrators, as the organic model assigns too little.

Current organization theory takes a middle position. Administrators do indeed affect organizations, but they operate within a set of patterned controls which partly set limits to and partly control what leaders do. This position, usually called "interactional", assumes that there is action and feedback between administrators and organizations. However, the interactional position is a very general one and I should like here to tie it specifically to the study of organizations of the type of the Cooperative Extension Service. That is, I should like to examine it in terms of organizations with strong traditions, broad goals and particularly those that are in transition.

The interactional position really says two things at once.

On the one hand, it underlines the fact that organizations are, after all, human inventions and, therefore, subject to human manipulation and control. They are very remarkable inventions, quite as remarkable I feel as the electric light or penicillin, though the fact that they are inventions is often not recognized because credit cannot be given to any one genius that conceived the idea of organization in his laboratory.

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* Different studies focussed on physique, weight, health, intelligence, sociability, dominance, self-confidence, extroversion and introversion. Gowin's famous study found that executives in insurance companies were taller than policy-holders, bishops were taller than clergymen, university presidents taller than state college presidents, sales managers taller than salesmen, and railway presidents taller than station agents (2).

At the same time, the interactional position says that we are limited in what we can do to change organizations. They are not simply clay in our hands which can be molded in any direction we happen to see fit. They do possess certain intrinsic qualities as organizations which means that a certain skill and sophistication is required, and some organizations will stand a great deal more manipulation than others.

This point leads me to draw an important distinction, a distinction between *organizational leadership* (3) and *organizational management.*

I see organizational leadership as referring to the kind of behavior that is called for when the structure of the organization needs alteration. Further, the degree of alteration is of such magnitude that the organization has had little previous experience so that there is no precedent for deciding how this change is to be handled. The task of the leader then is to judge that such extensive alteration is called for, and to direct the alterations themselves.

In contrast, organizational management calls for *maintaining* the structure when the structure *can* be taken for granted. The task of the manager is that of dealing with situations that deviate from normal operating conditions within predictable limits. The manager has in mind a conception of what is normal and is able to keep the organization within acceptable limits of deviation from the normal.* If the administrator can take the organization for granted, then he can focus on efficiency and on the reduction of costs. He can see the organization as a tool for getting work done. *But* when the tool itself cannot be taken for granted, then how efficient it is, is essentially irrelevant. A new tool must be forged.

Let me use an analogy. If a man plans to use a saw to cut down a tree, then the question of how sharp the saw is is what I would call a managerial decision. But if someone decides that it is not a job for a saw at all but for an axe, then it is a fruitless inquiry to ask how sharp the saw is. When organizations are changing in any fundamental sense— and one such sense is the taking on of new goals—then the question of how efficiently they are operated is less important than the question of whether the organization, as currently set up, is the proper instrument for doing the job at all.

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* Chapple and Sayles write of the manager's job as involving stabilization as he "tries to maintain equilibrium in the pattern of work relationships in the face of a never-ending series of disruptions, resulting from changes in schedules, equipment failures, absenteeism, worker complaints, and labor disturbances." They conceive of the manager's job as analogous to that of quality control in industry (4) .

If organizational leadership is called for in situations where the structure of the organization is changing or where it cannot be taken for granted, then clearly such leadership can be needed anywhere, not merely in high places.

For example, is recruitment a problem calling for organizational leadership? If you are adding personnel of the same type as you have already, then no leadership is involved. But if the plan is to shift the character of your organization in some fundamental way, then matters are different. For example, in a business organization if it is planned to shift the organization from a sales-minded emphasis to a production-minded emphasis, leadership rather than management is called for.

Or, take the area of training. While not ordinarily conceived of as a task calling for organizational leadership, one would have to ask whether the training is routine or not. If you have decided to teach persons not only skills but also a set of *values* which they do not at present possess—an example would be the Peace Corps—then leadership is called for, for the changing of values in an organization is a structural change of a fundamental sort.

Leader behavior hence may be called for anywhere in the organization with reference to any task—the definition and clarification of means, however detailed, task assignment, co-ordination, motivation, integration, (5) but it is most obviously called for where new goals are being defined and where new means must be provided for attaining those new goals. Let me say something about the problems of goal definition, for it is my belief that this is a major crisis confronting the Co-operative Extension Service.

Problems of Goal Definition

Defining a goal of an organization essentially means determining a relationship of the organization to some part of the society in which the organization is located. After all, what is a goal to an organization is simply a means to some other organization in the sense that other organizations consume the products or services of the organization that we are discussing.

Where the goal is a concrete object, as in the case of manufacturing concerns, then one's success in goal attainment is relatively easily measurable. The situation is very different in the case of a government agency, or in the case of the Cooperative Extension Service, in which goals are difficult to describe, let alone to measure with any degree of precision.

Take the example of a university which has the goal of a liberal education. Here we often speak of trying to produce "well-rounded men". How is one to know whether the persons one is producing are well-rounded or not? The leader's task in such organizations requires particular sensitivity to detect the relative degree of goal attainment or failure and to suggest new goals where they may be necessary.

The Scope Report laid out a number of new areas in which extension might proceed in the future. In *A Guide to Extension Programs for the Future*, these new goals were spelled out in some detail. Some of these, for example, "emphasize efficiency of production", are specific and measurable. But in the same list of objectives from which I just quoted, there occurs the objective "assist farmers in their efforts to adjust production to demand". The latter is certainly much more difficult to measure and requires a different kind of leadership ability. The administrator will have to answer the question of whether the goal is in fact being attained at all or not.

As I read through the "*Guide*," I was struck more and more by what I think is a problem not peculiar to the Extension Service. Perhaps the problem Extension faces is not how to attain its goal, but rather that it has been only too successful in attaining its goal.

Take another example of an organization currently weathering this problem—The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Here was an organization that developed a remarkable ability to collect funds on a local basis in the support of a major goal. Now the organization is faced with a crisis created by the fact that it has succeeded. Can it now shift the energies, enthusiasms and particular organizational forms it developed and focus them on a new goal? (6) The problem of shifting goals is often tragic. An army is designed to achieve a victory. Yet the better the army does its job, the sooner will its goals be reached. And the sooner its goals are reached, the need for the army vanishes, at least, insofar as victory itself is the goal.

Successful organizations have a way of looking for new fields to conquer. And why not? After all, why should the organization which has been built up with such care not be utilized to solve other problems which other less effective organizations are struggling with? So I read in the "*Guide*" that "Extension must interpret its responsibility as also applying to young people in rural non-farm homes and in suburban or urban families." There is a similar exuberance and breadth of interest throughout the Scope report and the "*Guide*." However, the very organization that was so successful in attaining its past goals may not work at all in attaining some new goal, for in a real sense, every organization is tailor-made to achieve particular goals and not any goal. Not only does the particular goal require men with certain skills, with a particular set of interests and, in time, with a particular kind of experience which is limited to the goals that they are pursuing, but a particular goal requires in an organization a special set of values.

For example, a key difference between a private hospital and a teaching hospital is not only the different kinds of personnel that may be present, but in addition that they will value different activities. A teaching hospital shares with a private hospital a concern for the welfare of the patient. However, it can get very excited about a patient simply because he has a rare disease or because he provides an interesting subject for research. It is easy to let one's enthusiasm for teaching or research result in the patient's being treated as a means rather than as an end.

Every organization that has been in existence for any length of time will have developed certain values, many of which will be so well accepted as not even to be discussed. The newcomer to such an organization who desires to change them will encounter more resistance than he realizes. Examples of resistance on the part of new administrators who desire to alter the goals of their organization are many. I would call your attention, for example, to the resistance of the civil service of Saskatchewan to the socialist goals of the CCF party in the 1930's, (7) or the special problems encountered by the TVA as described by Selznick (8).

Hence, when the Cooperative Extension Service asks itself whether it should take on as one of its goals the problems of young people—not only in rural farm areas but in suburban and urban areas—it must ask itself not only does it have an interest in such goals, but also are such problems and the population with which the Extension Service would be called upon to deal consistent with the peculiar values of the Extension Service?

I am not capable of describing those values to you. I would only call to your attention what I have noticed in the many contacts I have had with Extension personnel. You seem to me to be a group who have grown up together, who know each other, and who like each other. There seems to be more good fellowship, and less desire to undercut one another than in any other organization with which I have had any contact at all.

In addition, a major value that seems to unite Extension people is their sincere love of farming and their concern for the men who are involved in the cultivation of the soil. This provides an important unifying influence within the organization and which makes persons willing to come together to a conference like this willing to work many hours on problems of interest to Extension—in short, makes of the men in Extension dedicated people. And in the last analysis it is common values which make dedicated people.

You must ask yourself whether there would be the same dedication in problems of urban planning, juvenile delinquency in urban areas and other kinds of problems which the Extension Service is expressing an interest in these days. I would guess that the Extension Service could not make the shift to new problems or to new goals without a fundamental restructuring of the service itself.

Extent to Which New Leadership Is Called For?

Therefore, the first and most important question I would suggest you consider seriously and in depth is that of the extent to which new leadership is called for in the pursuit of Extension goals or whether instead you see the problems of Extension organization as primarily those of managing an existing organization with its existing goals.

The claim has been made that there is a close connection between a particular goal and the structure which is necessary to attain that goal: change the goal and one has to change the structure.

Some persons might be inclined to dispute this claim. When one speaks of an organization as a *means* for the attainment of a goal often the analogy suggests itself of the tool which can be used in a variety of situations without changing the tool itself. Consider the automobile, one may say. The same machine can be pointed north to take me to work or it can be pointed south to take me the supermarket. There is no necessary change in the machine or the means itself, even though I have changed my goal from getting to work to getting to the grocery store. Is not the same true of an organization?

Such an analogy is misleading for it does not reckon with the fact that the two goals of getting to work and getting to the supermarket are in fact goals that are very similar to each other: One should ask rather whether the automobile will get one across the ocean or to the moon.

Or, to take a concrete example, consider the remarkable success of the NAACP, the Negro action organization, in securing the Supreme Court decision on segregation, but note also the singular failure of the NAACP to supply leadership or even any help at all in the mass action programs such as the sit-down in southern cities.

One could even make a claim that the very success of an organization in attaining one set of goals incapacitates it for success in attaining very different goals. You must ask yourself whether the new goals that you seek are sufficiently different as to require important changes in the organization.

Let me call attention to certain dangers which organizations confronting new goals often face.

The pursuit of a new goal is sometimes given up, particularly by successful organizations who find it easier to concentrate on the task of keeping their own organization alive and functioning.

It is also most unpleasant to do battle with competing organizations who seek to attain the same goals.

Another danger is the superficial acceptance of goals, as for example in the case of the Russian claim to be a democracy.

Many organizations assert that they are interested in the attainment of certain goals when a closer examination reveals that they are pursuing other goals.

Not uncommon is opportunism, that is, a concentration on short-range problems and a continual shifting of goals in the light of guesses of what will contribute to the survival of the organization. Such a course of action is a tempting one for organizations that serve the public for they may even define their goal as that of "giving the public what it wants and needs." Such a course of action exposes one to continuous collision with other organizations which seek to do the same thing, and at the same time, continually shifting goals places an enormous strain on any organization. It is difficult enough to pursue one goal successfully.

Let me turn next to another issue which must be settled in thinking about organization as a means for achieving Extension's goals: The kind of theory of organization or the kind of model one is going to use. The theory of large-scale organization is currently in a state of crisis. (9) Partly this is due to the fact that several scientific disciplines are working simultaneously on theory; partly it is due to historical residues.

The first serious attempt to develop organizational theory was that of Scientific Management, worked out in the latter part of the 19th century by Frederick W. Taylor to account for what he felt were certain gross inefficiencies in the organization of work and the motivation of workers in firms in which he was called upon to consult. He saw man as an individualist whose primary motivation was that of increasing his money income, and whose efficiency could be improved by work simplification and work standardization.

The significant element in this point of view was that it allowed for no contribution from the worker himself. The worker was assumed to be ignorant and lacking in originality, and hence requiring close supervision.

The theory was challenged by the coming of the human relations movement heralded by the famous Western Electric experiments with which I am sure you are already familiar. The results of these experiments were felt to challenge the assumptions that Taylor made at many points. Workers were found to respond not simply as isolated individuals, but to be strongly influenced by the social relations they experienced in the work group. They worked for money, yes, but there was strong evidence of a restriction of their output to a point well below their skill and their endurance. Workers were found to possess inner resources which, if only they could be sufficiently motivated, would result in productivity at levels much higher than management would have believed possible.

These studies ushered in a whole new movement in the study of organization and resulted in the 1930's, and 40's and 50's in an emphasis on face-to-face relations in organizational studies. Since interpersonal relations were felt to be so important, it was believed that one could build harmonious relations and therefore reduce conflict by teaching persons how to deal effectively with each other.

At the present time, the high enthusiasm and hopes which ushered in the Human Relations Movement seem to be declining. Partly this is due to an inevitable disillusionment with what were exaggerated claims; but partly it is due to new and hard data which is turning up in increasing volume.

Focussing on intra-organizational forces ignores the impact of external economic forces, changes in technology, the imperatives posed by the flow of work in an organization, the structure of the organization, and plant-community relations. In addition it has been found that supervisory training programs, even when carried out under ideal conditions and by men of unquestioned capability, have failed about as often as they have been successful.

Current theory is essentially functional theory, with particular emphasis on systems and the requirements for the making of effective decisions. Such theory takes full cognizance of the requirements of the organizational structure that one is working in but still carries the assumption that human relation's theory has always carried that the system must be conceived of as one which is in equilibrium or one which is tending toward equilibrium.

As such, the system is examined for any difficulties it may be encountering in sustaining that equilibrium, such as difficulties of adaptation, integration, pattern-maintenance, and other functional requirements for survival. Such a theory—and it is very much in the saddle at the present time—has difficulty handling change and makes little allowance for power struggles within organizations. Change and struggles for power tend to be regarded as temporary or as pathological.

Interest Shows Conflict Theory

There is emerging on the horizon a new kind of theory—new in the sense that attention is being paid to it: It has been around for a long time—*conflict theory*. It has as yet relatively few proponents, although the names of Kenneth Boulding, C. Wright Mills and Sherman Krupp (10) might be mentioned.

This theory sees an organization as a temporary truce among a set of contending power alignments. Whereas systems theory concerns itself with the question of boundary-maintenance, conflict theory regards all boundaries as temporary lines, subject to shift at any time as power centers shift. Such phenomena as change, a power struggle, and disturbance, are to this theory normal: It is equilibrium or stability which must be explained.

Because of the emphasis on conflict, this theory requires a careful searching out of the bases for differences of interest. It is particularly impatient with those who seek to explain conflict away as due to misunderstanding or as requiring only tension release. Such a theory is particularly useful in such areas as union-management conflict which does seem clearly to be due not simply to lack of understanding which can be solved by better communication. Such seems also to be the case in international relations and those who hope for a resolution of American-Russian conflict by better mutual understanding are apparently doomed to disappointment, according to this theory. The problem seems to be not that we misunderstand the Russians: We understand them only too well. Our differences with them are real and vital differences and better understanding is likely to have the effect of exposing those differences evermore clearly. So are the differences in union-management relations real and vital. Although both have an interest in increasing the income which industry enjoys, there will still be a continuous conflict over how that income shall be divided up. Such differences would seem to be ineradicable, at least in a free society. Solutions are necessarily temporary.

Conflict theory makes a virtue of conflict. It points out that we have always had this attitude in a court of law in which we institutionalize the process of conflict. We assume that neither side has a monopoly on virtue or truth and it is assumed that the surest way to test the truth or virtue of a claim is to attack it and to see how well it stands up. Similarly, if one looks at organizations in these terms, it is claimed that looking for the conflict that exists and attempting to make sure that that conflict is expressed rather than suppressed, will bring the real issues into the open, make clear where the differences lie, and help force a speedy settlement if one is possible at all.

One of the important decisions which the Cooperative Extension Service must face, it seems to me, is which of these two major theories—the *Systems Theory* or the *Conflict Theory*—is most helpful to it. Clearly those who see the Extension Service as an encapsulated organization with strong traditions, a clear mandate, a well-established organization with definite boundaries will prefer Systems Theory.

Those who stand at the frontiers and are interested in new goals for Extension, in change, and what this will mean for the relation of Extension to other governmental and private organizations may find Conflict Theory more helpful.

Finally, let me call your attention to a serious problem only just beginning to be examined in organizational analysis. Every institution may be looked at in terms of its *ostensive purpose,* and the *organization* which is set up to attain that purpose. As has frequently been noted, there may occur a disjunction between the purpose of an organization and the means which are employed to attain that purpose. In time organizations become ends in themselves and their [illegible] themselves insisting that their organizational arrangements are the only way in which the ostensive purpose may be attained. That problem is well known and needs no further discussion in front of this group. What I wish to call your attention to is something more subtle.

Staffs in organizations may continue to regard organizational arrangements as means and not as ends, but at the same time, they may come to insist that these arrangements are related to the goals of the organization when in fact they are not. (11) Take an example from some research I am currently conducting in a junior high school. I observed a teacher getting approximately one hundred students from the auditorium into the cafeteria. She alone was in charge of this task. How did she manage it so as to be sure none would slip away and all would be accounted for? She employed the obvious device of lining them up in rows of four. This made it easy for her to count rows as they went by. It was also then easy for her to tell at a glance whether anyone was missing or not. It is also easier to count rows if persons are quiet. Hence it was not surprising that she asked that all be silent and stop whispering. All this made good organizational sense; it did not, necessarily, make any kind of sense in terms of the purpose of the school.

Yet when I asked the teacher later why she did this, she gave me this answer: "Lining them up *is* related to our educational goals. It teaches law and order and regular habits. Making them stop whispering to each other teaches them self-control, and I'm sure you will agree that is necessary for occupational success." I would not argue with the truth of the teacher's claims. I *would* like evidence that *she* is doing it for the reason she gives. I suspect in other words that she is doing it because it is easier and that the claim that this is somehow related to the school's goals remains to be proven.

This is a problem in all organizations, particularly large and successful ones. As they take on new challenges and new areas —as they should—there may come a point at which some of the activities they are engaging in bear only a tenuous relationship to the goals of the organization. One must therefore be careful that one does not begin to search for relationships to goals which may not, in fact, exist at all. We do many things as members of organizations because the organizations need them done. We do some things I suspect because we like doing them. I see nothing particularly wrong with that. Let us not, however, mistake our own needs for organizational needs.

References

1. This distinction is drawn from a discussion by Alvin W. Gouldner in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, pp. 404–407. What I have called the "organic" model he calls the "natural-system" model.
2. E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and His Control of Men*, New York: Macmillan, 1915.
3. The subject of organizational leadership, in contrast to community or small-group leadership, has been largely ignored. The best discussion known to me, and from which I have drawn, is that of Philip Selznick, *Leadership In Administration*, Evanston, Ill: Row, Peterson, 1957, esp. pp. 5 ff.
4. Eliot D. Chapple and Leonard R. Sayles, *The Measure of Management*, New York: Macmillan, 1961, esp. Chap. IV. Quotation is on p. 79.
5. See the discussion of these dimensions in Edward Gross, "Dimensions of Leadership," *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 40, October, 1961, pp. 213–218.
6. See David L. Sills, *The Volunteers*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.
7. See Seymour M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950.

8. Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953.

9. See, for example, Mason Haire (ed.) *Modern Organization Theory*, New York: Wiley, 1959, for an excellent collection of articles by persons in various fields, illustrative of the diversity of interests. For further illustration of this diversity, backed by examples from concrete research, see Amitai Etzioni (ed.), *Complex Organization*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

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The Land-Grant University "Development Organization" in Transition: The Case of the Cooperative Extension Service

CHRISTOPHER SOWER
Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University, East Lansing

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THE basic premise of this paper is that the Land Grant University concept as a "knowledge center development organization" likely is one of the unique social inventions of human history, that it has been a primary force in helping its nation and the world make a better utilization of resources, but that during the last generation it has not found the means to alter its organizational forms either to keep up with new knowledge or to meet changing conditions. Yet, the "knowledge center" concept if put into new organizational forms stands today as the only basic idea which seems capable of helping the nation and the world achieve state, regional, national, and international development goals.

"Development" as the Key Goal of Modern Societies

Practically all countries in the world today, as well as many of their units, are faced with very deep-set problems of interdependence. The old independence of nations as well as of their economic, political, and other social systems seems to have disappeared with the hard integrating realities of two major wars, and with the impact of two major systems of national social organization which are in deep competition for world leadership. It seems clear that key concept is leadership, not military or economic power. It also seems apparent, at least within the foreseeable future, that neither the systems led by the Soviet Union nor those of the coalitions of western nations are going to be able to dominate the world in either of these power areas.

The key area of competition for world leadership is inherent in the kinds of knowledge needed by the nations of the world to maximize the utilization of their human and material resources to produce the goods and services needed by any modern nation. The concept "development" has thus evolved as the crucial term. The peoples of the world want goods and services, and they want to learn how to produce them in ways which are consistent with their beliefs and their traditional cultural patterns. They want neither the "grande ideology" systems of the 19th century nor those of the western powers nor those of the Soviet Union. They want only the kinds of knowledge and assistance which will help them to become productive and to distribute the resulting goods and services to their peoples.[1]

The concept "development" has a direct relationship to the increasing interdependence of nations and sub-portions thereof. In fact, "development planning" enforces a fairly broad definition of the concept "area," which has to be viewed as any basic unit of interdependence, not only geographic areas. "By "development" we mean that the existing social organization of the "area" is activated to set and achieve resource utilization goals, those of the group and individual members of the "area," also those of the total nation, or even world areas.

Two illustrations will help in understanding the concepts "area" and "development." The perception of the term "agriculture" certainly is shifting from that of "providing services to all farmers who till the soil" to one of "managing the food and fiber industry in such a way as to provide the goods needed by the nation and the world." In U. S. and in the world, the modern agriculturist is less interested in the "social welfare" approach to agriculture (providing services to all who till the soil) than in the production, distribution, and use of commodities. Even in newly developing countries, there is a shift from the kind of agriculture which attempts to: "improve the villager's cow with a stud farm" to one which sets about to design a national plan which produces the feed grains as inputs into the villager's efficiently managed livestock enterprise, whose products in turn are marketed through some efficiently and responsibly planned and managed distribution system. The "area" is the nation and its food industry system.

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[1] In fact, the evidence seems clear that the "mixed" systems of modern societies are more productive than the "purist" concepts of the grande old ideologies of Karl Marx and Adam Smith. Also, modern economic systems supposedly based on purist principles have borrowed heavily from other types. See: Edward Carr. *The Soviet Impact Upon the Western World*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1947.

Another case of "development" is a relatively new action pattern in Michigan which is dealing with a visible "area of interdependence," that of livestock health. For several years, serious efforts have been made to design a "development" program to improve the livestock health of the state. These efforts have consisted of organizing a Michigan Livestock Health Council, composed of about 50 organizations which represent the organized interests (public, private, producers, distributors, etc.) related to the total area of interdependence, in this case livestock health.

National and international "development" consists of engaging in systematic social organization planning for the total number of interdependent "areas" related to the welfare of the nation or of the world. It means designing and formulating the kinds of social organization for any "area of interdependence" necessary to (1) bring about a greater ability for the area to adjust to external conditions; (2) to maximize the utilization of the human and material resources of the "area," and (3) to do this in a manner consistent with the sub-culture of the area and the needs and interests of other areas, and especially with the welfare of the nation and the world. Some "areas," like nations, or groups of nations, states or local government units, already are organized into permanent constellations of organizations, even though these structures frequently have been designed to meet needs which existed previous to the new era of interdependence. These too are "areas" in a development sense, irrespective of whether they are logical areas of interdependence from other constellations of forces such as economic production, transportation, cultural areas, etc.

As new knowledge about development organization planning evolves, a new and very great irony of history emerges in the 1960's as we realize that neither side is going to win the cold war of the last decade. A realistic approach to designing the organizational means by which a nation can learn how to achieve development goals points to the hard facts that there are two major component parts to development planning. One of these comes from the Soviet Union and the other from the western nations, and especially from the successes of the U.S. Land Grant Universities.

The first component part of development planning is that of national planning—or planning for the maximization of the utilization of the total resources of the total "area." This contribution to knowledge has been derived from the experiences of the nations which have demonstrated to the world how they could move from a peasant nation to an advanced factory production and scientific development system within the time period of one generation. It seems apparent, however, that the Russian type of ruthless disregard for human rights is not a necessary part of effective national planning, but that it actually hinders the incentive to produce.

During this same period of human history, American agriculture, largely as a consequence of the Land Grant university system, has achieved another phenomenal result. For the first time in human history, a nation is able to produce so much food with so little manpower that even with massive food gifts to other countries, food surpluses are a primary problem of the nation and not production. The importance of the knowledge related to this achievement in the world today can be appreciated only within the context that food production is an important goal in almost every national plan, and that the communist systems have been unable to produce adequate food supplies even for their own populations.

These two concepts: (1) national planning for production and for consumption based on the needs of the whole, and (2) how to maximize the incentives of the whole population to be productive—become the two major component parts of "development" planning for any "area" of interdependence.

The Land Grant University System as a Development Organization

The land grant university system was designed upon certain assumptions: (1) That there is an equal distribution of ability within the different segments of a population, and that the

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[8] This concept of "development" clearly goes beyond the limited intellectual confines of what customarily is labeled "community development." While community development can perform important national and area development roles, one of its main problems as a concept, is that it usually is narrowly circumscribed by the assumption, largely derived from American sociology, that "community" by definition is something which is limited within the confines of a contiguous, local geographic space. The problem of defining community is complicated further by Hawley's ecological definition of the community as an area of interdependence, not common sentiment and social organization. Amos Hawley: *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure*. New York. The Ronald Press Co., 1950. Also "Community Development" agencies frequently define their roles as competing with other "development" organizations, instead of taking a leadership role for total development planning. The main problem with the field of endeavor which has come to be labeled "community development" is that it has not designed an adequate operational definition of either "community" or "development."

"masses" of farmers and workers could and would respond to education; (2) That the masses would be interested in greater productivity of goods and services if they were provided with incentives (such as the hope for a more comfortable and "better"-life), and that positive reward types of incentives would be more productive than threats and punishments; (3) That a society can set up organizations which have the responsibility for achieving these goals; (4) Since the key element in the goal achieving process is the systematic use of competent knowledge, and the discovery of new knowledge, such organizations should have the main component elements of a university type institution.

Based primarily on the experiences of Christian missions, the Land Grant universities set about, following the authorizing legislation in 1862, to activate the farmers of the nation to be more productive of agricultural commodities, and to help the rural families in each area of the country to learn how to make a better utilization of available resources. From these experiences it is possible to design the concept "development organization." The "Extension" segment of the Land Grant system is a formal bureaucratic organization in each state which has for its goals the activation of its recipients to achieve goals deemed desirable by both the recipients and by the public bodies who organized and financed the sponsoring development organization. It represents a merger between local and state and national goals, and the job of the organization is to achieve national goals by legitimately activating the people to want to produce the goods and services deemed desirable by the nation and the states.[3]

From the experiences of the Land Grant university system during its first century, it is possible now to delimit its key weaknesses as a development organizational structure as it begins its second century of serving its society. While it has proven to the world that there is no substitute for some kind of a competent knowledge center in achieving development goals, its key weakness today as an institution is in the limited nature of its own self perception. As an organizational complex, it has remained —state and rural society bound—at the very period of history when the major concerns of its society have become national and international. The Land Grant system as a development organization basically is captured by the state system which supports it, and by other organized state and local interest groups. It is most difficult for the individual states of the country to justify expending their resources upon national concerns. In one respect, the state orientation and support of the Land Grant institution is its genius, as this brings it close to the needs of the people. In another respect, however, such support and control seems to have made it very difficult for the total Land Grant system to deal effectively and legitimately with the onrush of new problems which have evolved as the nation has become more interdependent within itself and with the rest of the world.

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[3] For further elaboration of the concept development organization, see: Christopher Sower. "External Development Organizations and the Locality." Michigan State University, 1959.

There even are basic problem areas within states into which the limited self perception of the Land Grant system has prevented it from expanding its knowledge center function. The states have had to deal with such problems as the expanding urban region, the economically displaced rural region, and the problem oriented center city. In the area of social welfare planning, there has been no alternative but for the state and the national governmental units to do something about the consequences of the facts that the population no longer has the basic social security of the rural community and the farm. They have had to construct vast new welfare programs, but have had to build these upon the outmoded models of private welfare organizations, not established knowledge. Also at the very point in history when there has been a vast new development of systematic knowledge on how to prevent deviant and problem behavior from developing into "point of no return" stages, the duplicating and overlapping complex of outmoded social agencies of the nation has been stuck with limited concepts of how to correct and reform.[4] Also, these outmoded organizational forms have been transplanted into other nations. As shown by the recent actions of the national government, there is evidence that the public welfare programs have resulted in permanent dependency instead of self sufficiency. Yet, the "knowledge center development organization" concept of the State Land Grant universities has not seen fit to develop an "Extension Service" for the new problem areas of its states.

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[4] See: Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Predicting Delinquency and Crime*, Harvard University Press, 1959; C. H. Eller, G. Hatcher, and B. Buell, "Health and Welfare Issues in Community Planning for the Problem of Indigent Disability," *American Journal of Public Health*, XLVIII, II (Nov. 1958), 1–49; B. Buell, P. Deisser, and John Wedemeyer, "Reorganizing to Prevent and Control Disordered Behavior," *Mental Hygiene*, XLII, 2 (April 1958), 155–194; D. Glabe, L. Feider, and H. Page, "Reorientation for Treatment and Control," Supplement to *Public Welfare*, April 1958; Bradley Buell, et al., *Community Planning for Human Services* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952; E. Powers and Helen Witmer, *An Experiment in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, Columbia University Press, 1951; Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, Harvard U. Press, 1950; Christopher Sower, "Designing Agency Coordination to Deal with Early Stages of the Cycle of Deviant Behavior–The Case of Alcoholism" *South Dakota Journal of Medicine and Pharmacy*, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Vol. 13, No. 12, Dec. 1960.

It seems obvious that, as a collectivity of state and rural bound organizations, the Land Grant universities have not taken even the intellectual leadership in the key areas of vital national concern during the last few decades. As a result, the national government has had to fill the void in knowledge leadership left by the supposedly national peoples' university system. The Federal Government has found it necessary to design such national organizations of basic knowledge as the National Institutes of Health and the National Science Foundation, and has had to take the initiative and leadership of knowledge development in other areas such as international planning, transportation, social welfare, national and area economic planning, and in education.

It is especially ironical that the designers of the Area Redevelopment Act, in attempting to fill a void left by the Land Grant systems, designed and put the bill through Congress at the very time when the organized agricultural interests were engaged in an inter-organizational struggle between the general farm and the commodity groups. Yet, the Land Grant system has designed the basic ideas of especially rural areas development, and still is the best equipped organization to carry out the organization and integration phase of the area re-development program:–That is, if it, as an organization, exhibits the kind of self perception of its organization role to take the job seriously.

These facts are mentioned, not to criticize the Land Grant system, because eventually it and its supporters and clientele will arrive at a working definition of its role in its society. The facts, however, indicate clearly that it as an organization has been unable or unwilling to develop a completed self perception of its national role. It has been unable, during the last generation, even to fulfill the basic founding concepts of its role as the peoples' universities in dealing with the present problems of its peoples, its states, and its nations.[5]

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[5] These ideas have been developed more extensively in a recent paper; Christopher Sower and Paul A. Miller: Changing Power Structure in Agriculture and Rural Society, 1961. (To be published,' under the Editorship of James Copp, by the Iowa State University Press.)

Yet, despite these limitations, the Land Grant system still shows great vitality, possibly as a carry over from a former era of high success. While, as a system, it has been impotent in moving into dealing with national and international concerns, it has provided the major knowledge personnel for designing and carrying out the development programs of the nation and the world. As a system, it has fought the national government in designing the kinds of organizations necessary for meeting new national concerns.[6] Yet, as the nation and the world have searched for the personnel which have had the know-how to achieve national development goals, they have found many if not most of them either from the faculties or the students of the U.S. Land Grant universities. (There seems some evidence to indicate that many of the persons who are designing and directing such programs have had experience with the Cooperative Extension Service, but left because of the limited scope of the self perceived role of both the organization managers and the groups which seem to have captured its decision making during the last generation).

There are sufficiently important phenomena to provide some documentation. Eddy and Thackery show the difference in scope of vision between the founders of the Land Grant university system and the kind of actions which it has demonstrated in fighting the federal government during recent decades.

> "The man of broadest vision among the leaders of this movement dreamed of a system of colleges and universities in which the search for new knowledge in neglected fields of fundamental importance to the American people (and the application of this knowledge in practice) would have an honored place, though not to the exclusion of other traditional disciplines. They wanted at least one of these institutions in each state."[7] (Permission requested)

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[6] See: Philip Selznick. *TVA and the Grassroots*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953; Charles M. Hardin. *The Politics of Agriculture: Soil Conservation and the Struggle for Power in Rural America*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1952, p. 19; William J. Block. *The Separation of the Farm Bureau and the Extension Service: Political Issue in a Federal System*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1960; Grant McConnell. *The Decline of Agrarian Democracy*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959; Ross B. Talbot. "Farm Organizations and the National Interest," *The Annals*. 331, Sept. 1960, pp. 110–115; Kenneth Boulding. *The Organizational Revolution*. New York, Harper & Bros., 1953; Charles M. Hardin. "The Bureau of Agricultural Economics Under Fire." *Journal of Farm Economics*, 28, 1946, pp. 643–645; also, Farm Political Power and the U.S. Governmental Process." *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 40, No. 5, Dec. 1958; Paul H. Appleby, *Policy and Administration*, University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1949; and Paul H. Appleby. *Big Democracy*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949.

[7] Edward Danforth Eddy, Jr. *Colleges for Our Land and Time*. New York, Harper and Bros., 1956. Page x, in Foreward by Russell I. Thackrey.

Yet, even in noting the highly circumscribed behavior in national and international action of those who have been the captors of the Land Grant institutions during the last generation, the systems have been phenomenonly productive:

> "Some factual measure of the realization of their dream may be had in the knowledge that in 1955 the 69 Land Grant institutions, enrolling slightly more than 20 per cent of all the students in the degree granting colleges and universities, awarded 39.3 per cent of all doctoral degrees in United States colleges and universities, including more than half of all doctoral degrees in biology, 43.6 per cent in the physical sciences, 40.3 per cent in mathematics, and 38.4 per cent in the social sciences."

The contributions of the personnel of these state bound and rural bound systems to international development programs is even more phenomenal. According to a paper prepared by Harvey F. Baty of Montana State College:[8]

In a very real manner, the Cooperative Extension Service, the prime example of the Land Grant University "development organization" concept, is a paradox of high success, deep failure and inter-organizational conflict. The system has designed the organization which has produced phenomenal achievements in food production and distribution. Yet, as an organization, it has lagged and has not permitted its role to be transitioned into its present day society. On the other hand, the staff and students of these universities seem to provide the major personnel components for the kinds of new experimentation necessary to design the means for achieving national development goals in its own as well as in other countries. The question now facing the Land Grant University decision makers is whether the societies of the world have to build new types of "knowledge center development organizations" or whether the present Land Grant system can design the means of altering its role to become again the national and international peoples' university system. This requires a depth understanding of the Land Grant university concept.

> "The Land Grant institutions (in 1960) with only 16 per cent of the nation's students, have 26 per cent of the foreign students, 36 per cent of the foreign faculty in the U.S., 41 per cent of the U.S. faculty abroad, 46 per cent of the ICA contracts abroad, and 70 per cent of the college contracts abroad."

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[8] See also *Open Doors, 1961*, Institute of International Education, New York, 1961.

The Land Grant University Concept

It seems logical to classify three component parts of the social invention which can be called the Land Grant concept:

(1) **A Center of Knowledge Competency:**

There is a long and frequently sad history of trying to maintain competent knowledge centers within either government, business or other bureaucratic organizations. It seems logical therefore to hypothesize that a university or a university type institution is the only place where it will be possible to maintain knowledge competency over a period of decades or generations. It seems that only a university type organization is capable of attracting the kinds of personnel who will dedicate their lives to knowledge, and that only a university can defend such scholars from the onslaughts of modern society, with its many powerful and highly organized special interest groups.

After more than a decade of worldwide organized efforts to utilize the concept "development organizations" in achieving national and international development goals, it is possible to see the crucial importance of the knowledge center. It is apparent that the work of practically all the national and international development agencies, including those within the United Nations complex, now is being hindered because these agencies do not have an integral linkage with established knowledge centers, —the type which has the Land Grant concept of an institutionalized self perception of having a responsibility for dealing with the problems of society.[9]

The deep set problems in this area of linkage between knowledge organizations and action organizations can be documented with the illustration of the Cooperative Extension Service. This development organization, located even within the confines of the Land Grant universities, has been unable to utilize much of the new knowledge, even that which has been developed on the same campuses. The evidence seems clear that even the sociologists employed by the Land Grant Colleges of Agriculture have not been able to keep the Cooperative Extension Service organization abreast with knowledge developments in the areas of social organization and personality socialization.[10] Also, it appears that the economists of the Colleges of Agriculture have been unable to keep the organization abreast of the extensive new knowledge in area and national economic development planning. The economic interests of the organization seem largely confined to agricultural commodities, and to these primarily within confines of state and national interests. With these as illustrations, it is possible to see the dilemma of any action agency which is located within the confines of any state or national government (and outside a university), and of those in the international arena, such as the development organization programs of the United Nations and its various agencies. Any development organization seems to be in trouble with keeping its program up with new knowledge unless it maintains an ongoing, integral, and realistic working relationship with some kind of basic university type knowledge center. Also, even well trained "knowledge" personnel have difficulty keeping up with existing knowledge or in creating new knowledge located within the bureaucratic confines of action organizations, or probably any kind of organization outside of university type ones. All this has to be set within the context that the total amount of knowledge in many fields related to development is doubling about each decade.

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[9] During a recent briefing with the various United Nations' Agencies (for a U.N. Technical Assistance Mission) one sensed rather deeply the consequences of the fact that these huge bureaucracies are attempting to function as development organizations without an integral linkage with basic knowledge institutions. (UNESCO in Paris, ILO and WHO in Geneva, FAO in Rome, ECAFE in Bangkok, and the U.N. Economic and Social Council, and the Technical Assistance Board in New York). They have such delicate relationships with so many national governments, and are so busy running programs. In fact, in contacts with most development organizations in most countries today, one makes constant mental reference to the hypothesis stated by March and Simons:

> "Gresham's Law of Planning. *Daily Routine Drives Out Plunning*. Stated less critically, we predict that when an individual is faced with highly programmed and highly unprogrammed tasks, the former tend to take precedence over the latter even in the absence of over-all time pressure." (James G. March and Herbert A. Simon. *Organizations*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1958, p. 185). Permission requested.

(2) A Self Perception On The Part Of The Knowledge Institution That It, As An Organization, Has An Official Responsibility For Helping Its Society Use Its Knowledge To Achieve Goals Deemed Desirable By The Society.

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[10] See: C. Arnold Anderson. "Trends in Rural Sociology," in Robert K. Merton, et. al., *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects.* New York, Basic Books, 1959, Chapter 16; also: Charles M. Hardin. "The Bureau of Agricultural Economics Under Fire." *Journal of Farm Economics*, 28, 1946, pp. 643–645; also, "Farm Political Power and the U.S. Governmental Process." *Journal of Farm Economics*, 40, No. 5, Dec. 1958. (Also, can questions be raised now about chlorestral and other areas where the creativity appears to be coming from other than the Colleges of Agriculture of the Land Grant Universities?).

This element of the land grant concept may seem elementary, but its importance is clear when one studies a university which does not have such a self perception of such an institutional role. The important distinction here is the institution's self perception of its role as an organization. This must be distinguished from the mere expectation that some of its faculty members should perform public service roles, or that individuals on the faculty may become personally dedicated to helping with selected problems of the society of the university. The absence of a self perception of such an institutional role is especially evident when the institution is located in the midst of a society which desperately needs help from its university. There are obvious illustrations of such universities in the inner sections of American cities, and in many developing countries. Yet, such discussion is not to criticize such universities; but merely to state that the design and implementation of such a self perceived development organization role represents a very complex, time consuming, and financially obligating task for any university. There is ample experience to show that it just cannot happen through good wishes, or over a short period of time, or that such a role alteration can be either designed and implemented, or even maintained without considerable stress with the traditional independence of thought and action so inherent within a university organizational complex.

(3) The Extension Role of the Land Grant University.

It is of particular interest that the original Land Grant university concept did not have a separate organization assigned to the function of carrying out the extension and use of knowledge role. This was added to the U.S.A. system in 1914 after about a half century of experience. Yet as one views many action agencies in many countries it is clear that this "extension and use of knowledge role" does not necessarily need to be an organizational segment of the Land Grant type university. In fact, one of the most restricting features of the present Cooperative Extension Service is when its self perception is that it, as an organization, has the responsibility for taking its knowledge and assistance to the individuals of the society. The major problems of the Cooperative Extension organization seem to arise when—working within the confines of such a limited self role perception—it comes into conflict with other organizations.

There seems no alternative but that the Land Grant concept of a knowledge center has to focus upon the good of the whole society. To be in organizational competition with any other organization, or any resource which can achieve development goals, is highly inconsistent with its inherent role definition—which has to be the development of the total society.

The problems of the vast successes as well as the frequently narrow, captured, and segmented self perception of the Cooperative Extension Service as a segment of the Land Grant University points to the probability that the Extension or Development Organization segments of the Land Grant system will in the future likely be working mostly with other organizations, many of which have the official responsibility for performing some function for the society. This trend evolves as the Cooperative Extension Service seems to move closer to being a Food Industry Extension Service. It is possible that some of these specialized Extension organizations, like a Food Industry Extension Service, will continue to be located within the confines of the Land Grant university. On the other hand, considering the highly specialized agencies of any modern society, the role of the primary knowledge center will likely be directed to helping the action agencies of the society utilize available knowledge in achieving the particular development goals in their specialized areas.

What Is the Cooperative Extension Service?

While this brief section of the paper is not necessary from the viewpoint of the logical development of ideas, it becomes important in terms of the audience—the State Directors of the Cooperative Extension Service. It is evident at this point in the paper that there is not clarity as to the nature of the development organization segment of the Land Grant University. As an organization is nothing more than something in the minds of people, the key question is: What is the organization of which the members of my audience are the State Directors? To whom am I addressing my paper? Not to what kinds of personality types, but rather: What is the nature of the organization which they represent? What is it in their own minds? What is it in the minds of those who have a major effect upon the decision making of the organization? In many respects, observation shows that the key question for an Extension Director is not necessarily: What kinds of decisions does he want to make? Rather he is faced with the question on many occasions of: What kinds of decisions can he make?

Where in the society are the locus points of decision making for the Cooperative Extension Service? Are these consistent with the fact that the organization is a segment of the Land Grant University system? The complexity of the question is seen in the fact that there are so many such points. As shown in Chart I, we are dealing with a very complex organization. It has a national office in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, a state office in each Land Grant university which receives direct grants of funds from state legislatures, and county offices dependent upon grants of funds from county governments. Its "support" into these fund appropriating bodies frequently are highly organized and powerful special interest groups. Then there are the "three anchor points of legitimation" for any organization—in this case for each of its tripartite segments—the sources of its inputs, the internal decision makers and their norms, and the users of its output.

Since the Federal Extension Service is a branch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, its role is fairly clear, that is unless one decides to get beyond the scope of the paper and attempt to deal with the inter-bureau complexities of that organization. The focus here will be upon the two locus points of the tri-part organizations which have a direct relationship to the Land Grant university: the state office of the Cooperative Extension Service and the county and/or regional offices. Since the state office is a direct sub-unit of the Land Grant university administration, and the county office is a "cooperative" unit between the University and the county government, they are two quite different types of organizations, and have to be analyzed separately. Yet, the same set of questions can be asked of each:

(1) Are they the education arm of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the "adult education knowledge extending" branch of the State Land Grant University, or the "development organization" branch of the University?

(2) Since the state and county offices are conceptually and organizationally separable, it is possible to perceive that they could have different roles within the university system. The state office, for instance, could relate only to food and fiber, while the county offices could deal with the broader Land Grant university

role. There seems evidence that as yet, no other segment of the universty has designed a workable substitute for the real access which the county Extension office can develop to local social structures. Within a broader context, it is conceivable that the regional and county offices could be under the jurisdiction of the total university, and could become the focal points of the other colleges, such as those dealing with business and industry, manpower training and utilization, and area planning.

(3) Assuming that under any arangement, there will be an "Extension Service" within the College of Agriculture which maintains direct relationships with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, there still are some further questions which need to be asked before it is possible to know my audience well enough to finish the paper.

> (a) Is the organization the "Food and Fiber Production Extension Service—that is dealing with any producers who till the soil either to make a living or for pleasure, irrespective of their relationship to national food and fiber needs? Or is it the Plant and Animal Extension Service, which would broaden its range into ornamental horticulture, animal pets, etc.?
>
> (b) Is it the Food and Fiber Industry Extension Service, dealing with the production, processing, distribution, and the using of food and fiber in the state, nation, and world? Here is where it seems to be having some of its major successes at the present time.
>
> (c) Is it the Rural Society Extension Service? Here the problem is to define what is rural society and how this is to be distinguished from urban society. Is the function of the organization, for instance, to continue certain education programs to selected youth and adults, even though it is obvious that both the society and the social role of the traditional programs have undergone major alterations? There can be little dispute with the obvious fact that these programs by and large have not mantained a working linkage with new knowledge on either personality socialization or social organization. Also, there would appear to be little relationship between the present programs in these areas and a new Land Grant university program which would deal competently with the area of manpower training and utilization. Evidence does show however, that when

the existing personnel are willing to use the access which they have to local organizations to work out new programs, that the present programs can be transitioned into helping localities to use existing knowledge to help solve present day problems dealing with the personality socialization, including deviant and problem behavior, of youth and adults. The key here, however, is how the state office perceives the role of the county extension worker, and how the position incumbent perceives his own role? The evidence seems to show that role change comes only from alterations in self perceptions and not from bureaucratic pressure, even when the pressure is cloaked in large programs and under fine titles such as program projection. Yet, as many Extension administrators have learned from experience, the achievement of planned change in such an organization is a complex phenomenon.

Function and Organizational Form

It stands to reason that a farmer does not use a 1914 tractor to till his soil, nor does a professional agriculturist crank up his 1914 automobile for a trip on an express highway. It seems equally logical that questions can be raised about the Cooperative Extension Service as an organizational form which is almost 50 years old.

It seems much more difficult to make even minor changes in the organizational forms of a society than to bring about major technological revolutions. Yet, a very large amount of research on large scale organizations leads to a fairly well established body of knowledge about the various elements of such bureaucratic organizations. Since much of the research has been done on business and industrial concerns, we do not really know how much it is possible to generalize from the findings of such "in-plant" type of large scale organization research to the "inter-organizational" component of development organizations. Yet several conditions seem applicable to all organizations which are designed on bureaucratic lines (those which have a hierarchy of authority).

Two findings take on particular relevance in an consideration of how organizations change:

(1) Organizations are only self perceptions in the minds of men. They can and do change. They can be changed. (There is considerable evidence to show that there

will not likely be “concensus’” in these perceptions between the different “relevant others” who have the legitimate right to hold opinions about the organization, and to affect its decision making. This is the source of much organization conflict).

(2) During periods of rapid and extensive social change, the organizations of a society tend to be in a state of “organization lag.” They tend to resist change.

Some of the resistance to change is related to the “problem of generations” in organizations. Persons in the older generation hold the decision making positions of power, and usually are more resistive to change than younger people. In fact, Edwards, in studying the French and the Russian revolutions, concludes that it takes at least three generations for a basic change to take place in the core organizations of a society. He concludes that the first generation, after the organizations cease to function, has personally seen them function. and knows that “prosperity is just around the corner.” The second and third generations know people personally who have seen them function well, and somehow or other cannot get around to the needed revolutions. After the third generation, the organization lag will likely continue until some logical substitute is designed. Edwards concludes, however, that there are advanced stages, and that a revolution never is prevented from occurring once it loses the support of the intellectuals, especially those of the larger society.[11]

With the fantastic development of world wide social change, and with a very rapid and extensive development of new knowledge, there probably have been few periods in history when so many of the organizations of societies are so out of date. We continue to produce food which cannot be distributed, even though people need food. We continue to attempt to maintain vast organizational structures to “treat” people in various advanced stages of mental and physical ill health, and in deviant and problem behavior, and this at the very point in history which has developed vast new knowledge on prediction, early detection, and prevention of many kinds of dysfunctional behavior. Tremendous resources go into intra-organization and inter-organization conflict, none of which are available for achieving desired social goals. The U.S. Land Grant Universities proved during the last century that the masses of the society are educatable and will be productive if given the proper assistance and incentives, yet the world seems stuck with the now disproven beliefs about the inferiority of certain social classes, races, and nationalities. Certain "old men and old ideas of yesterday" seem to have captured the decision making of today, and seem determined to fulfill the slogan: "Apres Moi, le Deluge."

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[11] Lyford Edwards. The Natural History of Revolutions. University of Chicago Press, 1927.

After possibly three generations of organizational dysfunction, it may be that the world now is ready to seriously examine its organizational forms, and to re-design them to fit the functions of today's societies. In this respect, the role of the social scientist as well as that of the Extension Director is like that of the architect. They can design various hypothetical kinds of structures to perform specified functions, but they cannot make the decisions for the society as to what the functions should be. The decision makers of the society must decide whether the function is to maintain old organizational forms, or to fight old enemies, or whether it is to design the kinds of new organizational forms which predictably can help the societies of the world produce and consume the kinds of goods and services they desire.

At this point, it is possible to turn to architecture and philosophy for assistance. Taylor's observations apply to the organizational forms of a society as well as to its buildings:

> "Consider the building which you occupy, how its degree of architectural excellence is to be judged.—It is a contrived artifact, the product of an act of calculation, in which the settled needs of men have been anticipated and a parcel of the environment shaped to suit them. Any piece of architecture—is addressed to a specific human function: it is designed to serve determinate needs which men have in the pursuit of ends they have independently set for themselves.
>
> —"The ends being given, his (the architects) task is sufficently performed in providing a space in which these ends are sufficiently served. The form which the space shall take is required to respect the building's function, as house, theater, or railway station, and not a single word can be said concerning the excellence of the building except by reference to its function, to that use or purpose for the sake of which it was contrived. The serviceableness of any tool is measured by its efficiency in enabling men to perform a task.
>
> —"Men build differently from age to age and from society to society, not because the notion of architecture in human culture varies. They build differently because their uses and purposes are at odds. Every human culture builds in indelible egotism to suit only itself, and as it conceives its tasks, so it fashions its tools."[12]

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[12] John F. A. Taylor. *Economics and Ethics. An Essay on Value.* Unpublished paper, 1962.

So, while the Cooperative Extension Service was a most engenious organizational form to serve the needs of one generation, serious questions can be raised about the ability of its present form to meet the needs of a new interdependent society which needs to use new knowledge to find solutions to new problems and to meet new conditions. A world-wide movement seems to have captured the imagination of the masses, whether they be in the now newly developing countries or in the inner sections of cities or in the rural regions in the United States which have become by-passed by national economic developments. This "rising level of expectations" seems to indicate that many peoples want to avoid ill-health, war, and preventable pain, and they want at least a minimum of essential services. They want all these in manners consistent with human dignity and with the maintenance of at least the core values of the traditional patterns of their societies. For many people, the achievement of these goals is more important than the sheer maintenance of the organizational forms of an earlier generation. Hence, it seems plausible that the social scientist as well as the administrator of development organizations can begin to think of designing the kinds of organization structures which will maximize the potential of any society in achieving its development goals. The main guide line in constructing such forms can be found in the famous principle from the famed architect, Louis Sullivan—Form Follows Function.

The Future "Function" of the Land Grant University as a Development Organization

If the function of the Land Grant University as a development organization is to help its society maximize the utilization of available human and material resources, then it is possible to delimit its scope within the confines of modern society. By definition, it seems very difficult to limit this function to providing services to the rural or other segments of the society which at one time were the majority segment of a rural nation. Also, anyone who has been around the service function of the Land Grant Universities during the last few decades has experienced the kinds of requests from the other segments of the society (social welfare, religious, health, business, transportation, labor and other organizations) for the kinds of knowledge role assistance which have been so successful in agriculture. But with its present organization structure, the system seems to listen to such requests but remains impotent, except as individuals attempt to perform such roles for the organization.

To make the decision about its future function would seem to be one of the key problems facing the Land Grant Universities. The dynamics of the institutions today probably are a consequence of the fact that they did at one time have a clear set of goals. Their internal and external conflicts and power battles, and their turning to the use of public relations techniques and to the huge public spectaculars of athletic orgies may be indicative of an organizational complex in difficulty because it has failed to keep up with the changes of a revolutionary society. Any organization which permits itself to get into a state of confused or unclear goals is one which is facing basic difficulty, conflict, and failure to achieve goals deemed worthy by either itself or its society. The center of knowledge for a society may be able to fool its public about its confusion, at least for some brief time, but it is too intelligent to fool itself. Also, over a period of time, a confused organization is likely to produce, attract, and hold confused personnel; and will likely destroy, reject, and lose competent people who want to dedicate their lives to the great needs and goals of their societies. It is difficult to perceive how real men of knowledge can get dedicated to power battles and lost causes.

A plausible predictive model seems logical for large scale organizations, especially the kinds which have sub-units with their own goals which can be fairly independent from those of the total organization. An automobile production organization has a common end product, and it is difficult for any subsection to detach its function from the goal of the total unit. A university however, seems like such a different kind of organization. The various sub-units of the organization (Colleges, Departments, as well as the Extension organizations) appear to act as if they have a more primary interest in achieving their own sub-unit goals than those of the total organization. Also, some scholars and Extension Specialists have very important linkages to their national professional associations, and sometimes the goal of maintaining status with these seems to take on greater importance than achieving the goals of the total organization. In fact, considering the deep investment which the different major subsegments of a Land Grant university has through the affairs of the respective Colleges, it is understandable how major power battles develop within and between these sub-units.[18]

An hypothesis evolves then as a logical model for predicting the actions of the College and other sub-units of the Land Grant University. It would seem to be to the advantage of certain colleges, at least within the present context of fund allocation, to attempt to prevent the total university from setting total system goals, especially if these in any way will interfere with the

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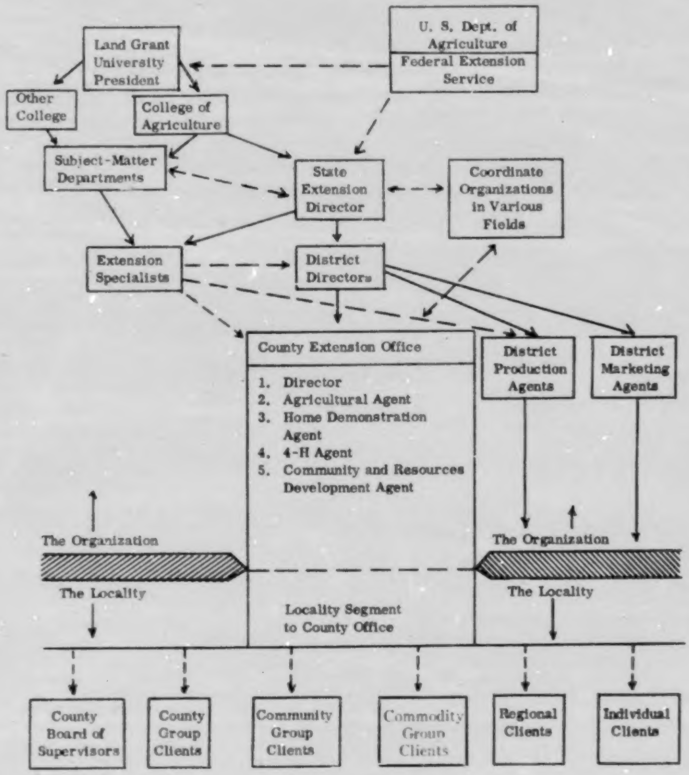
[18] See Ross L. Mooney, "The Problem of Leadership in the University." Bureau of Educational Research and Service, The Ohio State University, 1961.

CHART I

THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE
AS A "DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION"



U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Federal Extension Service
Land Grant University President
Other College
College of Agriculture
Subject-Matter Departments
State Extension Director
Coordinate Organizations in Various Fields
Extension Specialists
District Directors
County Extension Office
1. Director
2. Agricultural Agent
3. Home Demonstration Agent
4. 4-H Agent
5. Community and Resources Development Agent
District Production Agents
District Marketing Agents
The Organization
The Locality
The Organization
The Locality
Locality Segment to County Office
County Board of Supervisors
County Group Clients
Community Group Clients
Commodity Group Clients
Regional Clients
Individual Clients

independent goals of the respective colleges. Hence, it would seem to be to the advantage of the colleges to have a top administrator who is "on their side of the power struggle" or at least neutral. If neither of these is feasible, then it would seem to the advantage of the respective colleges to have a figurehead President, one who will make fine public pronouncements, but who will not have either the personal or organizational power to supercede the power linkages which the respective colleges are able to build into the society to affect either their funds or their functions.

Yet, inherent within the Land Grant concept would seem to be the mandate that these decisions will have to be made within the confines of the needs of the present and future society which it is to serve. Hence, even though such a generalization seems to apply to the teaching function as well as to the development organization function of the Land Grant University, the concentration of this paper will be upon the latter.

What is the "society" of the Land Grant institution, that for which they supposedly are the Peoples' Universities? There seems little alternative but that the chief concerns of the society of this system, that for which the architects must design the organizational forms, has to include the world role of the United States of America in this generation. In a manner unique to the history of any nation, the goals which the problems of the world have thrust upon this generation are to use our material and human resources to help the nations of the world achieve their development goals. To succeed is to fulfill the great dream of the heritage of the nation. To fail, is to court national disaster, and to sacrifice world leadership. The unique irony of such goals for the Cooperative Extension Service is that agricultural technology is the keystone of world development problems.

With this then, it is possible to turn to the task of delimiting what is mandatorially implicit within the concept "development" for any geographic area of the world. The periphery of what is mandatory is prescribed not by what the decision makers of the generation may want to do, but rather by the requirements of the state of modern knowledge. This will change in the future, and a "knowledge center type of development organization" in a very real way must organize to utilize knowledge which does not yet exist. Yet, within the realm of knowledge on how organizations can utilize "citizen dynamics" to help a society achieve development goals, Chart II presents the core areas of "function" which now almost by definition become the goals of the traditional Land Grant concept. It classifies citizen dynamics into three interdependent areas: production and distribution of material goods, manpower training and utilization, and geographic area development. It predicts that the citizens of a nation will dedicate their loyalties to such areas as these, and that the "development organizations" of a society can strengthen and utilize citizen interest in these areas to help them achieve development goals.

The Organizational Form Necessary to Achieve the Future "Function" of the Land Grant University as a Development Organization

Ideally, the paper needs to stop at this point for discussion and decisions from the administrators and key public leaders who have the responsibility for the Land Grant institutions. In one role, the architect of new organization forms has no right to enter the decision making arena, and to attempt to affect the decisions of the system. On the other hand, one who has been associated with the Land Grant system for more than two decades as an analyst at county, state, and national levels, may know enough about the system and its values and problems to continue into the design of some logical change models. Two specific hypothetical change models for the Land Grant System as Knowledge Center Development Organization will be presented.

While some of the theoretical principles guiding the construction of these change models and their presentation to this audience will be presented in the appendix section of the paper, it seems necessary to discuss the objectives and the procedure at this point. The procedure is based upon experiences and knowledge gained from serving for several years in an analysis and consultation position in which the Cooperative Extension Service has been one of the development organization "cases" for study. From this it now seems plausible to try a *projective* method in designing and testing specific change models both as to legitimacy and acceptance as well as rejection. These need to be tested at different locus points within the legitimate order of

CHART II

THE "FUNCTION" OF THE "KNOWLEDGE CENTER DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION" FOR A GEOGRAPHIC "AREA"

The key idea of the chart is inherent within the definition of a "knowledge center development organization." It helps the organized human resources of an area to work together to maximize the utilization of the human and natural resources. This goal can be achieved only as it is possible to obtain a favorable, dedicated, and enthusiastic response from the citizens of the area--a merger between personality and social system variables.

Yet, considering the complexity of modern society, it is predictable that most people will have their personal and group dedications within somewhat circumscribed areas of interest. Very few will be able to even perceive the totality of such a social unit as the Detroit area, a state, a region, or a nation. Hence, the concept of "effective" organization is to build on this fact and first do a competent job of organizing to achieve results in particular areas. Then at least a few people will be able to conceptualize the totality of its development problems. It seems feasible to predict that citizens of many nations will respond with interest and dedication to such as the following types of organized efforts.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="10">SPECIFIC "AREAS" IN WHICH CITIZEN DYNAMICS HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED*</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="7">Production and Distribution of Material Goods</th><th colspan="2">Manpower Training and Utilization "Areas" (includes the whole concept of preparing and keeping prepared the whole citizenry of all ages for productive roles in the society)</th><th>Geographic "Areas"</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4"></td><td colspan="6">Types of Material Goods</td><td rowspan="4">Education</td><td rowspan="4">Prevention and Treatment of Deviant and Problem Behavior</td><td rowspan="9">1. State
2. Nation
3. Urban Region
4. Rural Region
5. County
6. Inner City
7. Community
8. Etc.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Food</td><td rowspan="3">Fiber Goods</td><td rowspan="3">Metal Goods</td><td rowspan="3">Transportation</td><td rowspan="3">Other</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Commodity</td></tr>
<tr><td>A</td><td>B</td></tr>
<tr><td>Administration</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td rowspan="5">a. Training
Pre-School
School
Adult
b. Re-Training at all adult ages</td><td rowspan="5">1. Handicapped
2. Children and Youth
3. Aged
4. Delinquency & Crime
5. Mental Health
6. Dependency
7. Alcohol Use Problem
8. Etc.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Production</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Processing</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Distribution</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Consumption</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

* This chart illustrates (1) the total scope of "development" planning, and (2) that most citizen interest, involvement, and dynamics will likely be in limited areas of the whole--such as in a specific production area like dairy cattle, automobile parts, or roses; in delinquency, alcohol, or mental health; in the inner city, the rural region, or the local community. The chart does not attempt to present the total scope of the detailed areas of citizen interest, where a development program can "build in depth," but merely to illustrate the prediction about the nature of citizen interest in any society. Another prediction of very great importance is that development organization planners will likely find either actual or potential citizen interest in most segments of most societies, including those which have been bypassed by either colonialism or by social class biased welfare programs such as exist in inner cities.

the organization, especially at all of its three major anchor points of legitimation. Up to this point in research on organizations, *non-directive* methods of interviewing have been used as a means of testing the legitimacy of change models. Certain experimental models have been designed and tested, especially at county levels. Some progress has been made on the design of *objective* research methods in which hopefully it will be possible to measure the consequences of selected predictive models with statistical methods. For the occasion of this paper, however, and for these change models, the *projective* method seems most appropriate.

In this procedure, and through the means of presenting this paper to this audience, potential change models are being deliberately "*projected*" into certain key points of the Land Grant development organization system (The State Extension Directors). The first objective is to measure their responses on a continuum from acceptance to rejection. The second is to determine the frame of reference within which they have responded, and to be able to explain the responses with some kind of logical order. Eventually, it should be possible to work out revisions of these as well as other change models and have them (1) so designed, and (2) so initiated into the total system, that (3) they will have the maximum of predictability for support, and the minimum for opposition from the total "anchor points of legitimation" at the key locus points of decision making for the Land Grant system. A key objective will be to avoid a "dedicated opposition" which will organize to oppose these or other proposed changes. Research findings show that when individuals become personally committed to opposition, they frequently can activate elements of the total system which otherwise would be either supportative or at least neutral.

In general, recent research on public responses to different types of development organization planning shows more favorable response from both the public and from members of the organizations to types of proposals based on a realistic appraisal of existing needs and knowledge. A generation of experience shows that development goals will not likely be achieved with a mere continuation of the present organizations of a society, most of which have been designed for a former era. There appears to be a predictably favorable response to the kinds of logically designed proposals which face the future of the good of the "whole" honestly and courageously, rather than to types which propose that entrenched sub-groups continue to fight each other over issues which pertain to achieving their own limited ends, frequently at the expense of development goals. Hence, the two specific change models presented here are designed deliberately on the logical construct that the Land Grant University is the logical Knowledge Center Development Organization for each state and for the United States as a whole, and that the most vital concerns of the nation in the coming decades are to help the rest of the world learn how to produce and distribute the goods and services needed by their peoples.

Change Model Number One:

Within this context, it is possible to design Chart III as one way in which the Land Grant University can be organized to achieve the development functions of the whole of its state (that is in all "areas," geographic and other), and to do this consistent with: (1) the demands of knowledge competency and how the whole of "development" can be classified according to its logical component parts, (2) the needs of the total geographic areas (each State) for which the Land Grant University is the generalist knowledge center development organization, and (3) the existing self perception and norms of the Land Grant universities as organizations. Within this context, Chart III should be self explanatory, at least to the audience for which the paper is intended.

Change Model Number Two: Centers for the Study of Development Organizations.

It seems an obvious fact that modern knowledge is too vast and is changing too rapidly for any one university to have competency in all areas of knowledge. There is the problem of the total scope of knowledge, as well as the practical one of the "problem of generations" in any organization. Really competent knowledge centers will likely develop at institutions where there has been a break-through in specified areas of knowledge—and these may not be at the same institutions where an older generation in the field has become fixed within an outmoded frame of reference. It is a common feature of the folklore of universities

CHART III

HOW THE PRESENT LAND GRANT UNIVERSITY CAN BECOME A KNOWLEDGE CENTER AND DEVELOPMENT SERVICES ORGANIZATION

The key to this role is inherent within the traditional Land Grant Concept. The present Land Grant University would assume the responsibility for helping its state to maximize the utilization of all human and material resources to achieve goals deemed desirable by the people of the state, consistent with national goals. In this role, the Land Grant institution would help the organizations of the state design a total development planning procedure, workable plans, and implementation procedures for each of the "areas" inherent within the "development" process. It would help all other organizations of the state, including other educational institutions, to perform roles which each could have the subject matter competency to carry out. It would be in organization competition with no other college, university, or agency, because the test of division of labor would be competent standards to achieve development goals. The Land Grant University would, in fact, attempt to keep its action programs to a minimum, and to concentrate its resources upon its knowledge role, the setting of competent standards, consultation services, and evaluation standards.

The University would have a Vice President in charge of the Office of Development Services, who would have the responsibility for administering the Regional and County Development Services Offices. These could have a close working relationship with regional colleges, which could handle much of the responsibility for extension courses.

Such an organization plan would help to distinguish the sharp conceptual differences between the Land Grant "development" responsibility, and extension courses programs. While both credit and non-credit adult education are important parts of development programs, education here is a means to the end of helping the society use "the development process" to maximize the utilization of its resources.

THE LAND GRANT UNIVERSITY KNOWLEDGE CENTER - OFFICE OF DEVELOPMENT SERVICES						
Office of State Development Services			Office of International Development Programs			
Specialized Development Sub-Units Through Which the University Will Provide Knowledge and Consultation Services, Mostly to Specialized Agencies Located Outside the University						
Material Goods Production and Distribution			Manpower Training and Utilization			Geographic Area Planning
Food Industry* (Production, Processing, Distribution, and Use)	Business and Industry--Transportation, etc.	Possibly Others	Education a. School Age b. Adult Re-training	Prevention and Treatment of Deviant and Problem Behavior	Other	(In some respects this area is coordinative to the other two, although it has its established specialized fields, such as urban planning, national planning, rural area planning, community development, etc.

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* While the Food Industry Extension Service would remain within the Land Grant University, it would have a broadened definition of its function--to work with all food and fiber technology organizations to achieve state and national production and distribution goals. It would not continue services to all persons who presently till the soil, nor to some areas of limited agricultural production, as its function will be upon state and national goals. The responsibility for transitioning manpower and rural areas out of agricultural production would be allocated to other agencies, with the consultation of the Food Industry Extension Service. The transitional personnel and organizational adjustments from the present Cooperative Extension Service would take place over a several-year period. It is likely that most of the other Land Grant University Development Services would work primarily with external action organizations, and would not necessarily maintain university extension organizations. One possible first step for certain Land Grant Universities might be to design an Inner City Development Service.

that some universities are strong in some areas, and that the others will follow them for competency, employ their graduate students, etc. The suggestion here is that realistic development planning will take such facts of life into account.

It seems plausible that certain national and international "risk" funds could be utilized to strengthen certain universities which either already are highly competent or are about to make a knowledge break-through in selected areas of vital concern to national and international development. The important point is the last one—that the test of decisions of where to allocate the risk funds should be the public need for national development. This is not to say that the Land Grant university system should want to allocate all its risk fund eggs into only a few baskets, but that there can logically be some alternative to distributing all the eggs into 50 state baskets according to some uniform population formula. The National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health already are performing such roles within the scope of their areas.[14]

If the Land Grant university system were to take its national peoples' university role seriously, it would be giving core intellectual leadership to such national and international development planning. Such leadership, however, would require some kind of national knowledge centers, something clearly beyond the scope of any of the present associations of the respective state universities. Business and industry seem to have taken this kind of planning very seriously. One source states that about 8 billion dollars annually are invested in research, and states the general premise that it takes about "seven years for an idea to move from the test tube to the tank car."[15]

Certain kinds of Knowledge Centers would appear to be the most feasible means of achieving such goals. As such Centers would need laboratory, research, as well as basic theoretical knowledge components, the Land Grant Universities, with their action programs, are the most logical sponsors and hosts. These institutions already have the field staff which is competent to conduct experimental programs. Also these universities have subject matter competency in the wide variety of fields related to development planning.

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[14] See for instance: *Research Grants Index: Fiscal Year 1961.* U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service. Bethesda, Maryland, National Institutes of Health.

[15] See: Maurice Holland. *Management's Stake in Research,* New York, Harper and Bros. 1958.

It is likely that two types of centers may function better if organized on "coordinate" levels within the university administration. What might be called "Operational Centers" (or the operational segments of larger Centers) could be administered by the Extension segments of the university. The more "Basic Knowledge" Centers might better be administratively under a Dean of Social Science. There seems to be considerable evidence that social scientists tend to lose their creativity and productivity when they are located administratively under action oriented administrators, or under any organizational arrangement other than those with a primary subject matter orientation. The primary goal, however, is not to draw hard and fast bureaucratic lines, the kinds which lead to building iron curtains or to conflict. Rather, in order for such knowledge centers to be successful, they must bring together the many diverse disciplines which inherently are related to the successful achievement of development goals. Some such Centers might have a particular focus, such as an Inner City Development Service, the Great Lakes Cut-Over Region, The Appalachian Plateau, rural or urban regions, health, religious organizations, or a whole nation.[16]

While the social scientists have been reluctant to take firm positions about the possible roles of their disciplines in development planning, it seems obvious that they now knowledge-wise are prepared to make major contributions. Two areas of knowledge are sufficiently developed to justify major funds for experimentation, research, and consultation roles. These are: (1) social organization (including large scale organizations, small group, kinship, and others), and (2) personality socialization.

Without getting into the details, the justification for such a recommendation is that these subject matter areas are inherent segments of development programs. Whenever any nation decides to sponsor any development program, it always utilizes a formal bureaucratic organization to achieve its goals. At the same time, it appears obvious that the variables of organization conflict, personnel incentive, and failure as well as success in goal achievement are the consequences of organization variables, many of which are classifiable, explainable, and predictable. At the same time, most if not all development programs deal with personality change, and the linkage relationships between personality and social system variables. Knowledge in many of these areas is developed to a fairly sophisticated level of classification, explanation, and prediction. As an illustration, there is evidence to indicate that persons who are classifiable as entreprenurial-management minds are more likely to be able to manage the agricultural and other production processes than personalities classifiable as either traditionalist-peasant minds, or day laborer minds. Also, incentive and productivity are a consequence of how individuals are related to a variety of types of social systems.

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[16] There seems to be a potentially unique role which colleges sponsored by religious organizations in developing countries can perform in helping the agencies of a nation conduct self studies in villages, inner cities, and other areas. In these, it is possible for the colleges of various religions to "enter the nexus points" between bureaucratic organizations, and provide a "leaven in the loaf" role to providing basic knowledge assistance to agencies responsible for national development programs: See: Christopher Sower. *Working Papers on National Development in Ceylon.* Michigan State University, 1962.

It is proposed, then, that Centers for The Study of Development Organizations could bring the best from the social sciences to focus upon the problems of world development, and especially upon the problems of how to organize to achieve development goals. They could design and help conduct basic research throughout the world, and could begin to provide the knowledge base for the organizational components of development programs. The charge that such Centers will be too costly can be answered with a counter question: What does it now cost the societies of the world to continue programs which are outmoded in terms of present day conditions or existing knowledge? The Centers probably could move with considerable speed in helping the decision makers of societies find substitutes for existing agencies, and could bring the now considerable body of knowledge on organization change to bear upon the problem of how to alter agencies to achieve development goals more predictably.

It seems important that such knowledge centers need to be officially sponsored by both their host universities as well as by such external organizations as the government of states or nations, The Land Grant College Association, The United Nations, etc. The sponsorship within the universities should be associated with regional type laboratory situations. In fact, there would seem to be no inherent reason why such Centers could not be a joint function of two or more universities, especially where each is located in different types of regions. For instance, a state university and one with primarily a city orientation could join forces; as could two or more state universities located in different type regional settings.

Internally, such Centers should be sponsored by the different segments of the host universities in such a way as to maximize the creative and dedicated involvement of the faculty, and of the existing "extending" functions of the institution, some of which now are in organizational contest. Using Michigan State University as an example, such Centers should have sponsorship of The College of Social Science, The Cooperative Extension Service, The Office of International Programs, The College of Education, The College of Home Economics, The College of Business and Public Service, The College of Agriculture, and the Continuing Education Service.

A final hypothesis seems in order. If the present Land Grant universities and the Cooperative Extension Service will take the leadership in designing new means for achieving development goals, the other agencies and decision makers of the society will follow. If, on the other hand, they oppose the national government and others in innovation to meet new conditions, they will be by-passed as effective instruments of social change and planning. Yet, as there seems no alternative to some kind of a knowledge center role in effective planning to achieve development goals, the Land Grant universities are the most logical institutions of this era to take such leadership. If they fail, substitute institutions will likely be designed.

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I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Noel P. Ralston, Dr. John F. A. Taylor, and Robert C. Anderson for reading and criticizing the first draft of the paper. Even though the author takes complete responsibility for the contents, their excellent contributions have been used and integrated into this draft.

APPENDIX

Selected Principles About Development Organizations

There are two distinguishable but interrelated sets of principles about development organizations. Tht first pertains to the fact that they usually are large scale organizations, and contain many similarities to other types, such as business and industrial, about which so much of the literature pertains. In this respect, the managers must deal with many of the "in-plant" types of management problems common to any organization.[1] The second set of principles pertains to one of the characterizing features of a development organization, namely the multiplicity of relationships to other social structures necessary to achieving its goals. While all large organizations maintain extensive external relationships, their linkages are not so crucial and all pervasive as with development organizations.

It would seem important for the managers of development organizations to use extreme caution in utilizing principles developed from research in industry or other types of organizations. In order to be successful, a development organization must establish and maintain many hundreds of linkages with a large number of other social organizations—with other agencies; with community, producer, processor, and distributor groups; and with families, youth, and other community and regional groups. In order to be successful, the "linkage" personnel, who maintain an ongoing contact with these multiplicity of groups must be perceived by them as acceptable to them, interested in their welfare, able to help them achieve their goals, etc. Their primary success comes not from being at the end point of a chain of command in a large bureaucratic organization, but rather in how they link to their recipient "social organization." Their success is related to their ability to "gain access to" the recipient social organization, and not that of being able to respond to the commands of bureaucratic superiors. By definition, then, it seems a plausible working hypothesis that the management principles for development organizations may be different from those of others whose goals are to turn out a more common end product.

This difference presents a dilemma in that there are as yet no generalizing works pertaining to development organization principles. In view of this problem, it seems important to include this Appendix section as an integral part of the paper. While it will not attempt to be all-inclusive, there are certain principles which are fundamental to the paper, and need documentation.[2]

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[1] See for instance, the following generalizing works: James G. March and Herbert A. Simon. *Organizations*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1959; Kenneth E. Boulding. *The Organizational Revolution*. New York, Harper and Bros., 1953; Mason Haire, Editor. *Modern Organization Theory*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1959; Amitai Etzioni. *Complex Organizations*. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961; Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott. *Formal Organizations*. San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1962; Victor A. Thompson. *Modern Organization*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

[2] The following references contain segments of the principles, but none perform the needed generalizing task: Edward H. Spicer. *Human Problems in Technological Change*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1952; Phillip Selznick. *The Organizational Weapon*. New York, McGraw Hill Book Co., 1952; Phillip Selznick. *TVA and the Grassroots*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953; Charles M. Hardin. *The Politics of Agriculture: Soil Conservation and the Struggle for Power in Rural America*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1952, p. 19; Charles P. Loomis. *Social Systems*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960; Charles P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle. *Rural Social Systems*. New York, Prentice Hall, 1950; Paul A. Miller. *Community Health Action*. East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1953; Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman. *Community Involvement*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957; Christopher Sower. *External Development Organizations and the Locality*. East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1959 (Mimeographed); Also: *The Roles of Organizations In Achieving the Goals of Planned Change*. 1961; Also: "Designing Agency Coordination To Deal With the Early Stages of the Deviancy Cycle: The Case of Alcoholism." *South Dakota Journal of Medicine and Pharmacy*, Sioux Falls, Vol. XIII, No. 12, pp. 596–608 and 615, 1960.

Principles of Interorganizational Relationships and Management

(A) The Involvement Processes in Planned Social Action

Research on how organizations form coalitions to achieve goals which are definable as for the public good show the importance of two elements in bringing groups to the point where they are willing to circumscribe their own interests to those of the public goals. The first is a positive identification with the "community of common interests" which is inherent in any "area of interdependence" which is able to organize to achieve common goals definable as for "good of the community." Here the vast amount of research on the geographic community shows a widespread phenomenon in many nations, namely that there is what can be called a "fund or reservoir of goodwill" for the community and for the nation. It is predictable that at least some residents of most communities and nations will have some positive sentiments about the place where they live. It can be hypothesized, in fact, that either an actual or potential "fund of goodwill" exists for many "areas" of interdependence, whether these be work groups, regions, or others with common or interrelated concerns. These, in order to gain some consistency with community theory, might be labeled the "community of interests" for an "area of interdependence." Within this kind of framework it now is possible to separate theoretically the concepts community, community of interests, and community development from the restrictive scope of their traditional geographic confines of the early American neighborhood and community.

The second major problem of inter-group involvement is how groups within an area of interdependence act to achieve common goals, deemed desirable for the good of the whole as well as for the good of the individual members of the whole. Miller's study provides an excellent case illustration.[3] He studied how over 200 U.S. communities made the decision to build hospitals, and how to raise the funds to finance the projects. The community hospital is a good illustration because it almost always is a project which is definable as for the actual or potential good of the whole community as well as for each and every member, both in the present and in the future. It is almost impossible for any member of the community to deny this inherent character of a hospital project.

The research showed several findings: (1) that effective working relationships to achieve a common goal could be established even between groups which had been in traditional conflict; (2) that "coordinate" relationships based on common consent between groups located in equal positions of the community status order frequently were more successful in achieving a common

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[3] Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action*. East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1953.

goal than those designed on subordinate-superordinate basis within the hierarchy of bureaucratic organizations; (3) that the way in which the initiation process was first organized and the project first presented to the public is an important variable in predicting the acceptance, neutrality, or opposition of different segments of the "relevant order" of the action process, and in predicting whether the project ever became officially inaugurated, or if so was successful. If the initiation process became perceived as "captured" by one segment of the community for its own benefit, there were then legitimate bases for opposition to form to prevent one segment of the whole from using a project important for the "whole" to enhance its own advantages, especially status-wise. Successful hospital projects usually had a careful balance in their sponsorship between newcomers and oldtimers, high and low status, young and old, etc.

The Action Processes: In a related work, Sower and his colleagues designed the models of how an action process is "managed" through a complex of organizations which are within its "relevant order."[4] While the actual model as well as the research design and book within which it was developed were labeled "community action," in reality the action being analyzed was that primarily of county organizations, including a county health council and the county Extension Office. It seems plausible, in reviewing the work, that both the process as well as the book could well have been labeled "Inter-Organization Involvement" just as appropriately as to have been restricted only to the area of community. Within this context, it seems plausible to hypothesize that the model likely is applicable to any instance in which an action process is initiated into any complex of two or more organizations, especially when the action pertains to achieving goals which can be classified as "public goals" kinds of issues. As shown in Chart 1-A there are certain stages in an action process (recognizing that each does not necessarily follow the neat time ordering which the logic of the model might imply).

While a more detailed attempt has been made elsewhere to apply the model to a development-type case (statewide economic development), a summary here will show its general applicability to the inter-organizational processes involved in any kind of development planning and action.[5]

The following represents an attempt to provide a brief explanation for the model (Chart 1-A) and show how it is applicable to understanding and explaining the kinds of decision making contained in the inter-organizational relationships of any development planning process. (The next section will show several ways in which it can be put to practical use).

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[4] Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[5] Christopher Sower, Robert Hanson, David Westby, and Norbert Wiley. *Highway Change and Locality Change: Base Line Studies*, Chapter VIII, "The Relationships Between Inter-Organizational Coalitions and Achieving the Goals of Planned Change: A Theoretical Statement." Michigan State University, 1961.

(1) Starting at the top of the model, it can be seen that any proposed development-type action must logically evolve from symbols and sentiments appropriate to the society (existing social structure) within which it is being proposed. It needs to be sponsored by organizations in the "legitimate order" for that particular proposal. (The "legitimate order" can be defined as including all groups or individuals who have the socially defined right to be involved in the action. One test of such membership for instance is whether they will go into opposition if they are ignored, not consulted, or not involved?).

(2) The second step, the convergence of interest, takes on a special meaning here in that it implies a convergence upon the acceptance of a common group goal, or charter. The research shows that different organizations can accept the same goal for quite different reasons. For instance the County Health Department justified participating in a health survey because it wanted to discover ways of providing better health services. On the other hand, the County Medical Society justified the goal in order to prevent the further spread of socialized medicine (more public health services). A "deal" would be an instance where two or more organizations arrived at a specific agreement on a common goal.

(3) The establishment of the initiating Set is the next step. In practical terms however this must follow the determination of which groups compose the legitimate order for the action. This involves the designing of specific detailed proposals leading to the "justification of the Charter." (The term charter, has been borrowed from anthropology to designate the group goal as distinguished from the goals of the members of the group). As mentioned above the research findings on community action show how different members of the sponsoring set can justify the group goals for quite different or even opposing reasons. The important test however, is not how each group justifies the goal, but whether or not it does, and whether it then decides to join in the sponsorship for the action. An important goal in the action process is to conduct negotiations to determine how to alter and re-define the charter so as to involve the maximum proportion of the legitimate order which can justify, legitimize, and hence sponsor and support.

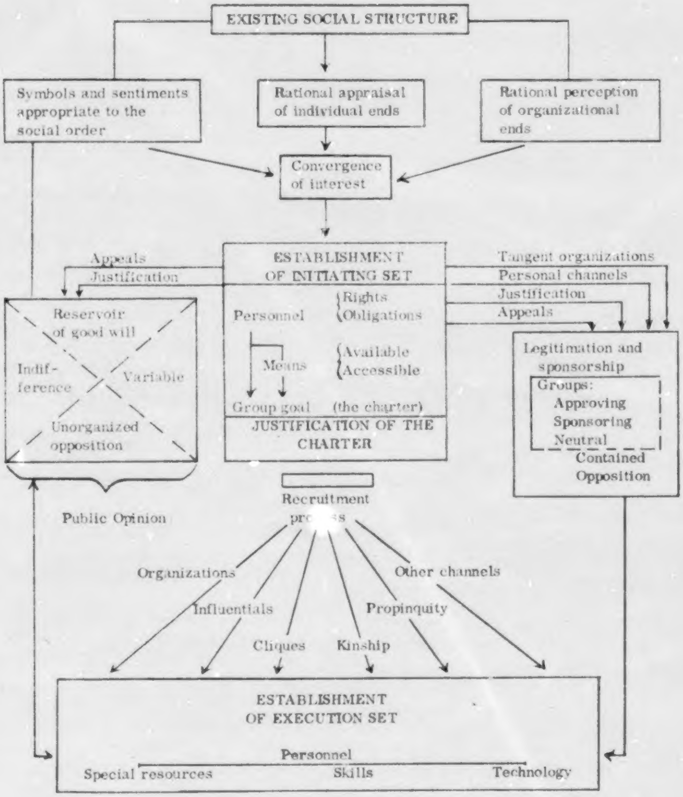
Leading to the left of the center block in the model, we have developed the explanation of how public opinion can be either supportive of the action because of sentiments of good will for the whole, can be indifferent or variable, or can be opposed. At the right from the center block of the model, we have tried to diagram first how legitimate access is gained to different organizations in the legitimate order; whether by tangential membership in different organizations, personal channels, justification based on logical reasoning, or by some other kind of general appeals. The groups in the legitimate order have next been classified as either approving, sponsoring, neutral, or opposing. (If the opposition is not contained at this point in the process, the action comes to a halt.)

(4) Finally, after the decision is made to execute the action, it is necessary to obtain the necessary facilities for carrying it out. For state economic development, this would mean new organizations, funds, cooperation from other groups, etc. In the community action studied from which the model was developed, it meant the involvement of 700 voluntary workers in the county. This was accomplished through the processes designated under the recruitment process.

The overall application of the action model can be summarized as including the following stages.

1. Recognition of a problem and determining achievable goals.
2. Convergence of interest.
3. The setting and justification of group goals.
4. Determination of the legitimate order.
5. Legitimation and sponsorship by a sufficient proportion of the relevant members of the legitimate order to com-

CHART I - A
MODEL FOR COMMUNITY ACTION*


EXISTING SOCIAL STRUCTURE
Symbols and sentiments appropriate to the social order
Rational appraisal of individual ends
Rational perception of organizational ends
Convergence of interest
ESTABLISHMENT OF INITIATING SET
Personnel
Rights
Obligations
Means
Available
Accessible
Group goal
(the charter)
JUSTIFICATION OF THE CHARTER
Appeals
Justification
Reservoir of good will
Indif-ference
Variable
Unorganized opposition
Public Opinion
Tangent organizations
Personal channels
Justification
Appeals
Legitimation and sponsorship
Groups:
Approving
Sponsoring
Neutral
Contained Opposition
Recruitment process
Organizations
Influentials
Cliques
Kinship
Propinquity
Other channels
ESTABLISHMENT OF EXECUTION SET
Personnel
Special resources
Skills
Technology

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* Taken from Sower, Holland, Tiedke and Freeman, Community Involvement, ibid, Page 317.

mit it to support of the action, including the containment of opposition.

6. Establishment of an execution set and mobilization of the necessary resources.
7. Fulfillment of the charter (group goal).

From this reasoning, then, it appears logical to develop another predictive model. It may by now state the obvious, but essentially it predicts that action which involves and activates its legitimate order in approval and sponsorship will be achieved.

Model Showing the Relationship Between the Involvement of the Legitimate Order and the Achievement of the Action Goals

	Action Process Will Be Completed and and Goals Will Be Achieved	Action Process Will Not Be Completed and Goals Will Not Be Achieved
Legitimate Order of the Action Process Adequately Involved and Activated	Predicted	
Legitimate Order of the Action Process Not Adequately Involved and Activated		Predicted

There is one final necessary element of the process. While the above model attempts to determine the positions and processes, there is something else which is necessary before the organizational machinery is able to move. This pertains to the problem of motivation. Individuals and organizations must commit themselves to making this or any other action process move from its beginning to its end. The community action research shows clearly that when individuals and organizations get fully committed to such action, they then put in the necessary effort to see it through to completion. While some such "movers of action" will develop from the fact that the persons occupy positions within organizations, there would appear to be few substitutes for personal dedication which derives from the fund of good will for community. Within this context, individuals and groups literally succeed when the action process succeeds, and have a sense of failure when the action fails. This seems to be an important core element of such action processes. Miller adds one final element.

> "When men of skill carried out the decision making function . . . the organization of the people at large was more extensive . . . The implications may suggest . . . that in the details of decision making and community problem solving, the patterning of office and skill are not to be overlooked."[•]

[•] Paul Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–162.

Application of the Inter-organization Action Model to Practical Problems

It is possible at this point to use the general theoretical model presented in the last section to show how using a good theory frequently is the most effective way to approach the solution of a practical problem. This will be illustrated with four points in the inter-organization action process which often result in complications for persons who are attempting to achieve "public good" kinds of goals. (While it is likely that the model and the principles apply also to the intra-organizational action process as well as to types of action dealing with more private goals, the research tests to date have been limited to the achievement of such "public goals" as are inherent within development-type planning and action). The four illustrations will be the importance of the initiation process, the role of dedicated opposition, the role of objective standards in setting goals and preventing inter-group conflict and the role of inter-personal relationships in inter-organizational cooperation. Even though these have been mentioned in the paper, it seems appropriate to state them more explicitly at this point.

(a) The Importance of the Initiation Process:

The research findings show that groups or individuals may take either a supportive or opposition position to an action proposal, largely based on the way the action was initiated. Hence, if the goal of the action initiators is to obtain sufficient support from the "legitimate order" of the action proposal to permit its successful execution, it should be helpful to recognize that at least some opposition can develop from the initial steps of stating the proposal as well as in the way it is publicly announced and sponsored.

It only stands to reason that action proposed by one group which is in a historic power struggle with another group (leftist vs. rightist groups in the political arena, for instance), will receive the almost automatic opposition from the traditional opponents of the initiating group. What the members of one political party initiate will receive the almost automatic opposition of members of another party. What labor initiates, management opposes. From this fact, practical urban planners, for instance, have learned that if they want a new housing or urban renewal project to receive public support, that it is necessary to have the first public announcements of the proposal (the initiation) made jointly by members of all important groups in the community. It is especially important to involve those who traditionally have been known to be for the "good of the whole community" and not representing only one segment, like labor, management, realtors, etc.

Stated simply, the predictive model is that groups which are involved in the initiation of the action proposal will be committed to support. Groups which have not been so involved are not so committed, may take a position of opposition either because they cannot justify the proposed action because of their own group norms, or because of either the characteristics of the initiators or the manner in which the action was initiated into the community, state, national, or other total system.[7]

(b) The Role of Dedicated Opposition

Most "public goals" kinds of action must somehow or other be resolved by some combination of the positions and actions of organized groups and of public opinion.[8] The center block on the right side of Chart 1 illustrates how different groups can take either approving, sponsoring, neutral, or opposition positions to any issue. It diagrams also the different ways which the initiating group can gain access to other groups—tangential organizational memberships, personal channels, persuasion, etc. The center block on the left side of the Chart shows the classification of public opinion about the issue as either committed to the goodwill of the community, as indifferent, variable, or as organized opposition.

As was described earlier in the paper, the research findings show that there are instances in which one or a small number of persons who become dedicated to opposing an action proposal can in turn activate many persons and groups who probably would otherwise have remained in either the indifferent or unorganized opposition category. No specific research has been designed yet to test specific hypotheses on the role of dedicated opposition, but such designs now are feasible. Even though we have only observational data in this area to date, there is sufficient evidence to justify designing and testing certain hypotheses.[9]

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[7] By perceiving any such group as a social system, one can gain a more clear understanding and explanation of how each justifies its position of either support, neutrality, or opposition. Loomis and Beegle have designed a useful set of elements of a social system: Ends or Objectives, Norms, Status-roles, Power (Authority or Influence), Social rank, Sanctions, Facilities, and Territoriality. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957.

[8] While most attempts to predict the outcome of resolving public issues by open elections have used a public opinion polling method, two studies demonstrated that the results of "Right to Work" issues, which were resolved by city public elections, could be accurately predicted by designing a formula based on (a) the position on the issue of different organizations in the city, (b) the intensity of the commitment of different groups to resolving the issue in the direction they desired, (c) the kinds of coalitions which were formed to persuade the public, and (d) a ranking of the different groups within a community power classification. See: Delbert C. Miller. "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision Making," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. 25, June 1957, pp. 137–147. Also, Robert C. Hanson. "Predicting a Community Decision, A Test of the Miller-Form Theory," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 5, October 1959, pp. 662–671.

[9] See for instance: James Coleman. *Community Conflict*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957. Also: forthcoming Michigan State University bulletin: Gary King, Walter Freeman, and Christopher Sower. *Sociological Influences on Suburban Political Action: A School Bond Conflict*; also, C. R. Hoffer and Walter Freeman, *Social Action Resulting from Industrial Development*. Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bulletin No. 401, October 1935.

(c) The Role of "Objective Standards" in Preventing Inter-Group Conflict

The idea of the role of "objective standards" in preventing inter-group conflict was derived from observations of how different groups related themselves to a State Highway Department in such decisions as where the new highways should be located, the kinds and specific locations of access points between local communities and limited access highways, as well as even to issues related to the engineering of highway construction.[10] It was noted, for instance, that there was very great inter-organization rivalry pertaining to decision making on many kinds of issues. Yet, on practically all except one purely engineering construction issue, there was little open contest because the engineering standards from the U.S. Bureau of Roads and the State Highway Department provided the objective evidence for determining the issue. There was one technical issue, however, in which the objectives were either in the process of being developed or at least were not clear. This was whether the road was to be constructed of portland concrete or asphaltic concrete. Each of the industries sponsoring these respective products maintained lobbying organizations in an attempt to affect the decision making; and each sponsored public advertising to carry its cause to the public. Likewise, different community and state groups attempted to affect State Highway Department decision making in many varieties of ways.

The importance of the concept "objectives standards" is that the decision making was removed from public controversy when the evidence was so well established that the consequences of different decisions were predictable. Further observation of different kinds of controversy in issue resolvement shows that intergroup contest is likely to occur when such standards are not established. There are many instances in attempts to get various kinds of bills through legislatures in which different agricultural and other interest groups have been on opposite sides of issues largely because the objective standards were not available. The history of agricultural legislation is filled with such inter-organization contest, and the issues range through such areas as livestock, plant, and human health; commodity standards, transportation, and many others. The only practical implication of the concept "objective standards" for administrators is merely to point up the issue, and to provide the general predictive model that there is a relationship between this concept and inter-organization contest.

(d) The Role of Inter-Personal Relationships in Inter-Organizational Cooperation.

Even with little objective evidence to support the hypothesis, observation indicates that there are many personal friendships between the members of any two organizations which have effective inter-organizational relationships. On the contrary, organizations which are in contest (labor unions vs. industries, and different political parties, religious groups, ideological action groups, etc.) appear to have few if any personal friendships which cross the lines of the respective organizations. In fact, there frequently are informal rules which prohibit such friendships; they would be interpreted as indicating disloyalty to the primary organization. From a practical viewpoint, a plausible hypothesis evolves for organizations which need to be brought together to achieve national, state, or local development goals. It seems predictable that the more the different representatives can know each other as persons, the more that personal friendships develop, the more likely will there be the kinds of communication which will result in the two organizations being able to set and agree on common goals.

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[10] Christopher Sower, Robert Hanson, David Westby and Norbert Wiley. *Highway Change and Locality Change: Base Line Studies*, Chapter VII–The Problem of Designing the Models for Predicting How a Development Organization Achieves Its Goals: The Case of a State Highway Department, Michigan State University, 1961.

(B) Organization Goal Clarity, Role Concensus, Personal Interest, and Organization Goal Achievement

There is one complex of variables within the inter-organizational component of any development organization which has a very particular and unique applicability to the Cooperative Extension Service. As mentioned above, probably no other organization has such a large proportion of its personnel who literally have "joint appointments" with other organizations, such as subject matter departments, county government, etc. In turning to several subject matter areas for assistance, it is possible to design the concepts necessary to analyze this complex of variables which may be very important to either the success or failure of the organization in its goal achievement. Literally, while its tri-partite arrangement—with national government, the Land Grant university subject matter departments and county government—may have been one of the sources of strength through which the organization has been able to achieve such outstanding goals, there is evidence to indicate that this can be one of its greatest sources of difficulty in a period of very rapid social change and development of new knowledge.

The source of knowledge for gaining an understanding of this problem comes from the social psychological area of role theory, giving it a special application to a large scale development organization. There are three basic concepts necessary to using this knowledge. The first is the hypothesis that an organization consists of an inter-related set of positions, which are occupied by "position incumbents." Such positions can be formal ones within the organization structure, or ones based on sex, friendship, etc. The second concept is "behavior expectation," or the behavior which is expected of the position incumbent because of the fact that he is occupying the position. Each position within an organization has different "relevant others" who possess the social right to hold behavior expectations for the incumbent of any position.

The third concept, "concensus," is the key one for understanding an organization. As shown by Gross and his colleagues, there is evidence to hypothesize that there will not be consistency or concensus between the different "relevant others" who have the legitimate right to hold behavior expectations for any given position incumbent. Also, there will not likely be concensus between these "relevant others" and what the person himself thinks he should be doing because of his incumbency in the position.[11]

It is within this context of concensus that one of the unique characteristics of an organization like the Cooperative Extension Service becomes evident. In focusing upon either of the two major positions which have dual linkages, the Extension Specialist and the County or District Extension Agent, it is possible to hypothesize that literally inconsistent behavior expectations can be impinged upon such position incumbents, largely because of the different and diverse sources of legitimate "relevant others" who have the social right to hold behavior expectations of these personnel. Chart II diagrams this kind of potential for a county or district Extension Agent. Chart III shows a similar model for the Extension Specialist. They show how the different legitimate sources of behavior expectations can impinge upon the position incumbent, and how these can be inconsistent with each other, or lack concensus. It is at this point too that the concept the "three anchor points of legitimation" for an organization takes on importance for an organization like Cooperative Extension. These provide such diverse sources of legitimate behavior expectations.[12]

There are two types of consequences to an organization's output which are related to this problem of concensus. The first is shown in Chart IV-A. Being primarily a psychological consequence, it is beyond the context of this paper. It shows the range of possible responses for any person when he is trapped into a situation of "lack of concensus" between the different behavior expectations which can legitimately be impinged upon him. Such a condition can lead to mental stress and to long time adverse consequences. The concept may in fact, provide the knowledge linkage between organization theory and certain segments of personality theory.

The second type of consequences is related to the predictability that the organization will or will not achieve its goals. As shown in Chart V-A, (reading from left to right) it is possible to

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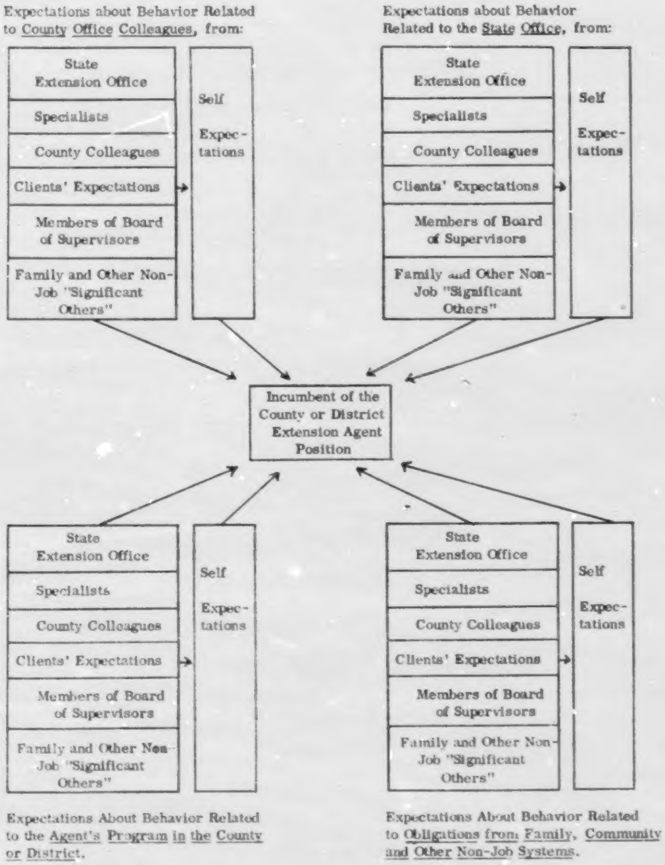
[11] Neal Gross, Ward Mason, and Alexander McEacher. *Explorations in Role Analysis.* New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1958, Chapter 3.

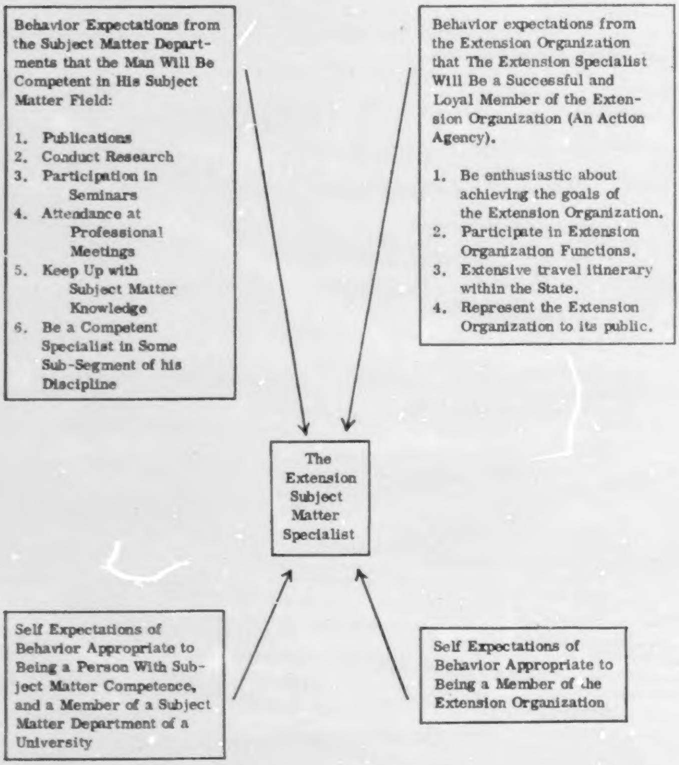
[12] These have been designed from Parson's concept of "three levels in the hierarchial structure of organization." (The sources of its inputs, its internal component parts, and the users of its outputs). See: Talcott Parsons: "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to a Theory of Organizations." *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 1, pp. 63–85 and 225–239. Reprinted in: Talcott Parsons: *Structure and Process in Modern Society*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1960.

CHART II - A
MODEL OF SOCIAL ROLE BEHAVIOR EXPECTATIONS FOR COUNTY OR DISTRICT EXTENSION AGENTS OF THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE


Expectations about Behavior Related to County Office Colleagues, from:
State Extension Office
Specialists
County Colleagues
Clients' Expectations
Members of Board of Supervisors
Family and Other Non-Job "Significant Others"
Self Expectations
Expectations about Behavior Related to the State Office, from:
State Extension Office
Specialists
County Colleagues
Clients' Expectations
Members of Board of Supervisors
Family and Other Non-Job "Significant Others"
Self Expectations
Incumbent of the County or District Extension Agent Position
State Extension Office
Specialists
County Colleagues
Clients' Expectations
Members of Board of Supervisors
Family and Other Non-Job "Significant Others"
Self Expectations
State Extension Office
Specialists
County Colleagues
Clients' Expectations
Members of Board of Supervisors
Family and Other Non-Job "Significant Others"
Self Expectations
Expectations About Behavior Related to the Agent's Program in the County or District.
Expectations About Behavior Related to Obligations from Family, Community and Other Non-Job Systems.

design a set of inter-linking variables which lead from (1) the extent to which the goals of an organization are clearly and consistently defined, to (2) the extent to which it is able to maintain concensus in the behavior expectations impinged upon its personnel from different legitimate sources, to (3) the extent to which the personnel are basically interested in achieving the goals of the organization, and to (4) the extent to which the goals of the organization are achieved. The hypothetical relationship between both goal clarity and its absence is

CHART III - A
MODEL OF SOCIAL ROLE BEHAVIOR EXPECTATIONS FOR THE SUBJECT MATTER SPECIALIST OF THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE
"The Man in the Middle"



Behavior Expectations from the Subject Matter Departments that the Man Will Be Competent in His Subject Matter Field:

1. Publications
2. Conduct Research
3. Participation in Seminars
4. Attendance at Professional Meetings
5. Keep Up with Subject Matter Knowledge
6. Be a Competent Specialist in Some Sub-Segment of his Discipline

Behavior expectations from the Extension Organization that The Extension Specialist Will Be a Successful and Loyal Member of the Extension Organization (An Action Agency).

1. Be enthusiastic about achieving the goals of the Extension Organization.
2. Participate in Extension Organization Functions.
3. Extensive travel itinerary within the State.
4. Represent the Extension Organization to its public.

The Extension Subject Matter Specialist

Self Expectations of Behavior Appropriate to Being a Person With Subject Matter Competence, and a Member of a Subject Matter Department of a University

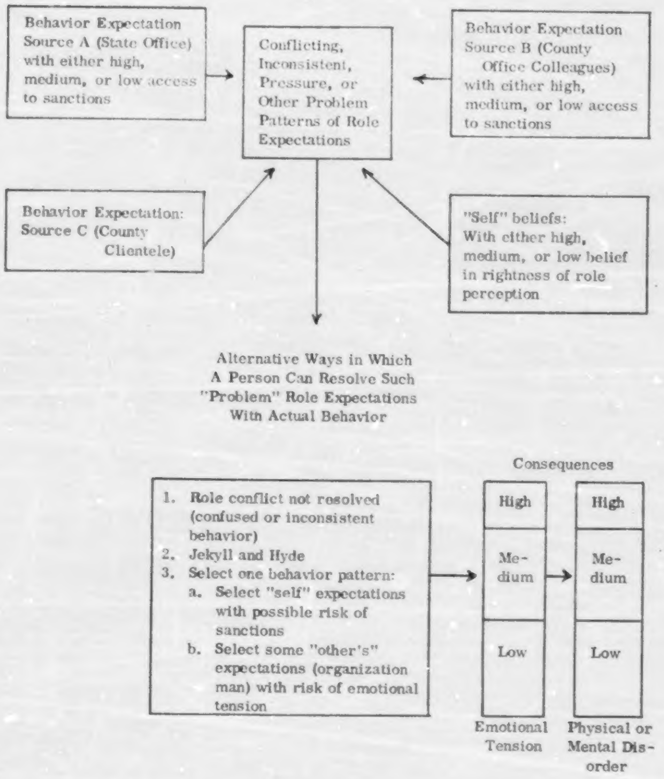
Self Expectations of Behavior Appropriate to Being a Member of the Extension Organization

diagrammed in the chart, with the linkage to personality stress also included. It is sufficient to conclude this section with the comment that the model now is ready for testing with either observational or statistical research methods. Even without further testing, it would seem to have some direct applicability to any attempt to design some management principles for development organizations.

A Tentative Statement of Organization Hypotheses:

Finally, for the reader who wants to see the hypotheses pulled together into one section, the following represents an attempt at this task.

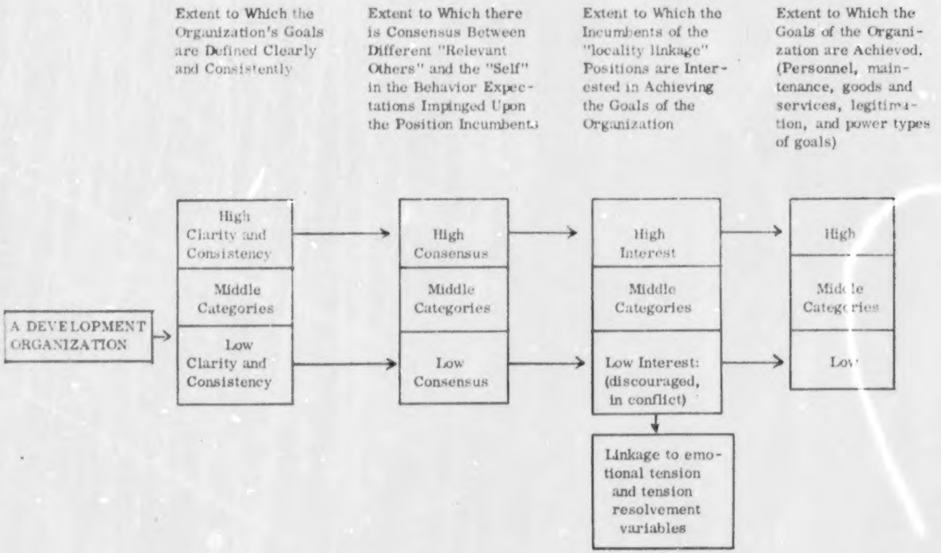
CHART IV - A
HOW INCUMBENT OF A COUNTY OR DISTRICT EXTENSION OFFICE POSITION CAN RESOLVE EITHER CONFLICTING, INCONSISTENT, PRESSURE OR OTHER PROBLEM PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR EXPECTATIONS


Behavior Expectation Source A (State Office) with either high, medium, or low access to sanctions
Conflicting, Inconsistent, Pressure, or Other Problem Patterns of Role Expectations
Behavior Expectation Source B (County Office Colleagues) with either high, medium, or low access to sanctions
Behavior Expectation: Source C (County Clientele)
"Self" beliefs: With either high, medium, or low belief in rightness of role perception
Alternative Ways in Which A Person Can Resolve Such "Problem" Role Expectations With Actual Behavior
Consequences
1. Role conflict not resolved (confused or inconsistent behavior)
2. Jekyll and Hyde
3. Select one behavior pattern:
a. Select "self" expectations with possible risk of sanctions
b. Select some "other's" expectations (organization man) with risk of emotional tension
High
Medium
Low
Emotional Tension
High
Medium
Low
Physical or Mental Disorder

1. By definition, an organization is a set of perceptions of the kinds of behavior which should be performed by the incumbents of a collectivity of positions. There are behavior expectations for the total organization, for its sub-parts, as well as for the incumbent of each position. There are three basic sources from which such behavior expectations legitimately derive. These are (a) from the external segments of society which provide the inputs of resources necessary to maintain the organization, (b) from different positions within the organization, and (c) from the users of the output of the organization. It can be hypothesized that there will not likely be "consensus" between the behavior expectations which derive from these different

CHART V - A

MODEL FOR EXPLAINING AND PREDICTING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTERNAL ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES AND THE EXTENT OF GOAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR A DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION


Extent to Which the Organization's Goals are Defined Clearly and Consistently
Extent to Which there is Consensus Between Different "Relevant Others" and the "Self" in the Behavior Expectations Impinged Upon the Position Incumbents
Extent to Which the Incumbents of the "locality linkage" Positions are Interested in Achieving the Goals of the Organization
Extent to Which the Goals of the Organization are Achieved. (Personnel, maintenance, goods and services, legitimation, and power types of goals)
A DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION
High Clarity and Consistency
Middle Categories
Low Clarity and Consistency
High Consensus
Middle Categories
Low Consensus
High Interest
Middle Categories
Low Interest: (discouraged, in conflict)
Linkage to emotional tension and tension resolvement variables
High
Middle Categories
Low

Taken from: Christopher Sower, Robert Hanson, David Westby, and Norbert Wiley, Highway Change and Locality Change: Base Line Studies, Part IV, "The Roles of Organizations in Achieving the Goals of Planned Change," Michigan State University, East Lansing, March, 1961, p. 110. (Mimeographed) "anchor points of legitimation," or from the sub-groups within each segment. As organizations are only a collectivity of behavior expectations, they are alterable.

2. A natural condition of a large scale organization is that the members of its sub-parts will likely be more interested in achieving the goals of the sub-unit than in the total organization goals. This likely is a mandatory condition for a large organization, as the achievement of major goals (teaching, extension, education, science and arts, or an engine plant or body plant for that matter) requires a large amount of dedication and interest on the part of the incumbents of its positions.

3. The total organization is in basic difficulty, however, if it arrives at a condition where sub-group behavior prevents the total organization from either setting or achieving central organization goals. Yet, a natural condition of a large organization is that too heavy concentration on sub-group goals may prevent the total organization from (a) setting total organization goals (that is genuine achievable ones, not just words); (b) altering traditional goals which have become outmoded by changing conditions such as social change, new knowledge, etc.; and (c) selecting personally "strong" incumbents for center organization positions.

4. It can be hypothesized that organization contest is a consequence of explainable variables. It likely is predictable, and explainable. As with other such phenomenon, it has the possibility of being alterable.

5. Organization contest, by definition, is related to problems of consensus between different segments of the total legitimate order for the organization. It appears now that a research focus on the problems of consensus will be productive of developing such predictive models.

6. All energy within an organization which is allocated to either organization or inter-personal contest, by definition, is not available for the achievement of organization goals. Hence, contest may be one of the most important variables related to developing predictive models pertaining to goal achievement.

7. A natural condition of a large scale organization is that there will not likely be consensus between the goal achievement patterns of sub-sections and those of the total organization. A natural condition of such an organization is that sub-unit goals will likely be deemed more important by many position incumbents, unless deliberate measures are taken to insure that total organization goals take precedence.

8. There is a direct relationship between the extent to which the goals of an organization are achieved and the extent to which the position incumbents are personally interested in achieving such goals. Hence, an effective goal achieving pattern is when there is a convergence between the personal interests of position incumbents and the goals of the organization.

9. By definition, some organizations (health, education, welfare, etc.) can achieve their goals only as the recipients justify the output of the organization as inputs into their own systems. These can be classified as "development organizations." This type of relationship between organization and recipient provides a useful model for designing research in explaining how and the extent to which health, and other development organizations achieve their goals. The important variable is to explain how the recipient justifies using the output of the organization as a legitimate input into his own use.

10. Low concensus of behavior expectation patterns for different patterns or for the total organization will likely be higher under conditions of high social change, development of new knowledge, etc.

11. Consensus within an organization or for its total legitimate order will likely be correlated with such variables as different generations, age, sex, different sub-segments of the organizations, etc.

12. It is likely that organization contest will more likely occur under conditions in which lack of consensus fits into patterns of polarity, that is bi-polar, tri-polar, etc.

13. Organization contest is more likely to occur when lack of consensus is associated with firmness of belief, intensity of feeling, etc., especially when also associated with high polarity of position on particular issues.

14. There will be a significant relationship between lack of role consensus in a work organization and such other variables as personality stress, as well as with such stress relieving measures as use of alcohol, partying, and other recreation; also with family, community, church, friendship, and other relationships outside the work organization.

Seventh National Cooperative Extension Administration Seminar

APRIL 30–MAY 4, 1962

PROGRAM

SUNDAY, APRIL 29

7:00– 8:00 p.m. REGISTRATION—Penthouse, Madison Inn.

8:00 p.m. ORIENTATION SESSION—For speakers, general session chairmen, planning committee members and chairman of evaluation committee—Penthouse, Madison Inn.
N. P. Ralston, *Chairman*

MONDAY, APRIL 30

8:00– 9:00 a.m. REGISTRATION. Conference Desk, Third Floor, Wisconsin Center

9:00 a.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
Chairman
N. P. Ralston, Extension Director, Michigan
INVOCATION
C. A. Vines, Extension Director, Arkansas
WELCOME
R. K. Froker, Dean and Director, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin
OBJECTIVES AND OPERATION OF THE SEMINAR
N. P. Ralston
Changing Times—Changing Programs
C. M. Ferguson, Professor, National Agricultural Center for Advanced Study

11:15 a.m. LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION

1:15 p.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
Chairman
A. A. Spielman, Dean and Director, Massachusetts
Cooperative Extension's Contribution to National Goals
E. T. York, Jr., Administrator, Federal Extension Service
DISCUSSION OF PAPER
J. B. Claar, Associate Extension Director, Illinois
C. O. Youngstrom, Associate Extenson Director, Idaho

3:15 p.m. RECESS

3:45 p.m. DISCUSSION GROUPS
Group I—Room 312
Group II—Room 211
Group III—Room 213
Group IV—Room 225

6:00 p.m. DINNER MEETING, Old Madison Room, Memorial Union
Chairman
Henry L. Ahlgren, Associate Extension Director,
Informal discussion with Administrator York

TUESDAY, MAY 1

8:30 a.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
***Role of Cooperative Extension in the Land-Grant* System**
Fred H. Harrington, Vice-President, University of Wisconsin
DISCUSSION OF PAPER
C. A. Vines, Extension Director, Arkansas
Henry Hansen, Associate Extension Director, Connecticut

10:45 a.m. GROUP DISCUSSION
Group I–Room 312
Group II–Room 211
Group III–Room 213
Group IV–Room 225

1:15 p.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
Chairman
A. G. Volz, Associate Extension Director, California
Cooperative Extension: A Development Organization in Transition
Christopher Sower, Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University
DISCUSSION OF PAPER
Lloyd Davis, Field Representative, Federal Extension Service
John E. Hutchison, Extension Director, Texas

3:00 p.m. COFFEE HOUR WITH GRADUATE STUDENTS AND STAFF

3:45 p.m. DISCUSSION GROUPS
Group I–Room 312
Group II–Room 211
Group III–Room 213
Group IV–Room 225

WEDNESDAY, MAY 2

8:30 a.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
Chairman
R. E. Larson, Extension Director, Pennsylvania
Formulating Cooperative Extension Goals
James G. Harlow, Dean, College of Education, University of Oklahoma

DISCUSSION OF PAPER
E. W. Janike, Extension Director, Nebraska
Marvin A. Anderson, Associate Extension Director, Iowa

10:45 a.m. GROUP DISCUSSION
Group I–Room 312
Group II–Room 211
Group III–Room 213
Group IV–Room 225

1:15 p.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
Chairman
E. W. Aiton, Assistant Administration, Federal Extension Service

Organization As A Means for Achieving Extension's Goals
Edward Gross, Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota

DISCUSSION OF PAPER
John A. Cox, Extension Director, Louisiana
Gene M. Lear, Associate Extension Director, Oregon

3:45 p.m. GROUP DISCUSSION
Group I–Room 312
Group II–Room 211
Group III–Room 213
Group IV–Room 225

THURSDAY, MAY 3

8:30 a.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center
Chairman
Torlief S. Aasheim, Extension Director, Montana

The Individual and Goal Achievement
George B. Strother, Professor of Commerce and National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study

LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION

10:15 a.m. RECESS

10:45 a.m. LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION

1:15 p.m. LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION

3:15 p.m. SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS
Identify Problems the Seminar Didn't Solve
Group I–Room 312
Group II–Room 211
Group III–Room 213
Group IV–Room 225

6:00 p.m. DINNER MEETING, Old Madison Room, Memorial Union

Chairman

George E. Lord, Extension Director, Maine

The Individual and the Organization

Elbert W. Burr, Manager, Personnel Development, Monsanto Chemical Company

FRIDAY, MAY 4

8:30 a.m. GENERAL SESSION, Room 311, Wisconsin Center

Chairman

Robert C. Clark, Director, National Agricultural Center for Advanced Study

A Consideration of Unsolved Problems

Chairman of small discussion groups questioning the consultants:

Elbert W. Burr
C. M. Ferguson
William E. Henly
Christopher Sower
George B. Strother

Evaluation Committee

T. H. Patton, Associate Extension Director, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*
S. Avery Bice, Associate Extension Director, Colorado
George E. Hull, Extension Director, Arizona
G. W. Schneider, Associate Extension Director, Kentucky
Arthur H. Schulz, Acting Extension Director, North Dakota

Literature Published by the Center

TO PROVIDE a permanent source of reference material on Extension administration and related subjects, the Center has printed reports of the various workshops and seminars. In this way, the contributions of outstanding speakers and consultants are preserved in a convenient form for further study and discussion.

Copies of the following publications are available for distribution to the States and other interested parties if you would advise us of your needs.

ADMINISTRATION

Administration in Extension

Edited by Robert C. Clark and Roland H. Abraham

This publication presents the major papers presented at the Sixth National Cooperative Extension Administrative Seminar held at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1959.

Five major areas of administration are analyzed. They are: (a) expanding responsibilities of Extension administrators in the Land-Grant institutions; (b) assessing and developing executive leadership; (c) administrative theory; (d) adjusting formal organization to current program responsibilities; and (e) communication in administration.

Pub. #8–220 pp.–$3.00

Extension Administration Suggested Areas of Research

Edited by Ann G. Olmsted

This is a report of a conference held in 1956 to identify problem areas and encourage research in Extension administration.

The report will be useful to staff and graduate students in Extension administration and Extension education in identifying areas in which research appears to be most needed.

Suggested areas are: (a) administrative policy and programming; (b) internal administration; and (c) external administrative relationships.

Pub. #1–24 pp.–No charge.

Cooperative Extension Administration

Edited by Ann G. Olmsted and Gerald Huffman

A report of the fifth National Extension Administrative Workshop, held at Madison, Wisconsin, April, 1956.

Papers and summaries of work group findings are presented on: (a) factors affecting the Extension administrator's job; (b) administrative organization; (c) coordination and direction; (d) program-

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ming; (e) personnel management; (f) effective budgeting; and (g) administrative relations. Extensive references on each subject add to the usefulness of the publication for graduate study.

Pub. #2–88 pp.—No charge.

SUPERVISION

Supervision in the Cooperative Extension Service

Edited by F. E. Rogers and Ann G. Olmsted

This publication is perhaps the first to relate the wide body of general knowledge about supervision to the Cooperative Extension Service. Chapters include: (a) principles of supervision; (b) functions of the Extension supervisor; (c) recruitment, selection and placement; (d) job descriptions; (e) counseling; and (f) evaluating agent performance.

Supervisors will find these readings and references valuable aids for inservice and graduate training. Extension administrators may also find this publication an aid in selecting new supervisors and in planning training programs.

(Oct. 1957) Pub. #3–162 pp. $2.00

The Role of Cooperative Extension Supervisors

Edited by Grace E. Langdon

This is a report of the almost identical regional workshops held in Texas and Georgia in the spring of 1960. It includes papers emphasizing: (a) program development; (b) counseling; and (c) professional improvement.

Pub. #9–70 pp. –$1.50

Personnel Appraisal and Job Descriptions in Extension Supervision

Edited by Grace E. Langdon

The report is based on the Northeast Extension Conference on Supervision in Washington, D. C. in 1960. It emphasizes the study of (a) personnel appraisal; (b) the development and use of job descriptions; and (c) the supervisor's role in adult education.

Pub. #10–74 pp.—$1.50

OTHER REFERENCES

National Symposium on Home Demonstration Work

Edited by Glenwood L. Creech and Howard M. Dail

A report of the national symposium held at East Lansing, Michigan, in 1958.

Papers analyzed: (a) the social, economic, technological and civic trends affecting families; (b) identified needs of families in view of current trends; (c) examined the responsibility of the Cooperative Extension Service to families; and (d) considered adjustments which might increase effectiveness of home economic extension.

Pub. #7–128 pp.–No charge

Selected Readings and References in 4-H Club Work For Cooperative Extension Personnel

Compiled and edited by G. L. Carter, Jr. and Robert C. Clark

These readings and references are designed primarily (but not exclusively) for use in graduate programs of Regional and State Summer Schools and regular semester courses on 4-H Club work. They may also be useful in undergraduate courses that deal with Extension programs and methods, for personnel study on the job, and to serve as a general reference.

Subject matter covered: Part I. History, Philosophy and Objectives; Part II. Basic Needs of Youth; Part III. Factors to Consider in Programming; Part IV. Adult Volunteer Leadership; and Part V. Role of the Professional Worker.

Pub. #11–140 pp.–$3.00

A Research Approach to Program Development in Cooperative Extension

Edited by Edgar J. Boone

A report of a Research Planning Conference in Program Development held at Madison, Wisconsin in 1961.

Papers analyzed: (a) needs and problems in program development as viewed by an Extension Director; (b) major concerns in program development warranting research; (c) suggested alternatives for researching the decision-making process in program development; (d) appraising approaches to planning Extension programs; (e) appraising changes in planning participants; (f) researching the program development process; and (g) overviews of completed program development research in Iowa, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Pub. #12–80 pp. $2.00

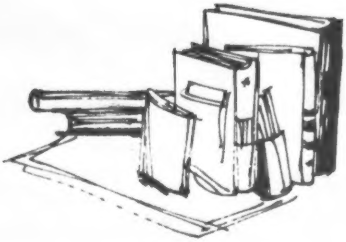
Changing Dimensions in Agriculture and Home Economics—Impact on Cooperative Extension Administration

Edited by E. J. Boone and C. M. Ferguson

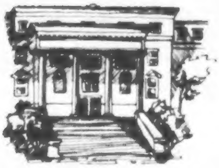
This publication includes eight papers presented in the National Agricultural Extension Center's 1961 Fall Forum Series held at the University of Wisconsin.

Papers presented: (1) Modernizing Extension to Meet Tomorrow's Needs; (2) The Federal Partner Looks at Extension's Challenge; (3) Tomorrow's Demands for Education for Agriculture; (4) Tomorrow's Main Thrust in Extension; (5) Tomorrow's Agriculture–Its Challenge to Administration; (6) What Will Tomorrow's Homemaker Expect of Extension? (7) New Dimensions in Home Economics; and (8) Charting the Course in Extension.

Pub. #13–96 pp. $3.00



Address publication requests to: Dr. Robert C. Clark, Director, National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study, Agricultural Hall, The University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wis.



The National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study is supported in large part by a grant received from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan. The Center is located in Agricultural Hall at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.